THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

March 5, 1949

PEIPING CLAMP DOWN

AN EDITORIAL

Kunming's Banknote Massacre

Taiwan's Chinese Problem

C. F. Coulter

Japanese Philosophy And Politics

Joshua W. K. Liao

GOV'T-FINANCED INDUSTRY

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 113 GY500 NUMBER 1

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Calls For Surrender

To The Editor:

In his New Year's statement made as the Red Army marched to the north bank of the Yangtze River, Chiang Kai-shek called for peace. Now the question arises how to win a true peace? What kind of a peace do the people want?

In setting down the possible conditions for establishing a peace, I find there are only two to be considered: 1) that the Kuomintang surrender unconditionally to the Communists, and 2) that the Kuomintang leaders quit China and the Kuomintang field commanders hand over their armies to the Communists.

Because of the deep-rooted differences between them, I think it would be difficult for the KMT and the CP to conclude an agreement and to reach any long-term cooperation. Any temporary compromise between these two parties would not be genuine peace but only a breather in order to regroup their military strength.

Therefore, if the Kuomintang truly loves peace for the sake of the people, it should accept Mao's eight-point peace terms, which in general the people have supported.

If the Kuomintang leaders are statesmen-like, they will examine what they have done to the people and decide to leave China. Otherwise they cannot escape the people's wrath in treating them as war criminals and punishing them sooner or later.

If the KMT insists on wishful thinking: Peace on an equal footing, peace in its entirety, and peace in a conditional sense as reiterated by General Teng Wen-yi, the Ministry of National Defense spokesman, there will be no peace, I am sure. The victorious Communists will continue their domestic housecleaning until the KMT is completely removed from Chinese politics.

Peace must be made on the basis mentioned above. Otherwise the people will prefer an all-out war to eliminate the remnants of feudalism, militarism of war-lords, and the practices of a corrupt bureaucracy.

T. P. W.

Shanghai
February 23, 1949

China's Three Groups

To The Editor:

Since President Chiang's retirement it now appears that China has been split into three parts: 1) The territory north of the Yangtze occupied by the Communists, with the capital in Peiping, 2) the four southwest provinces and Taiwan occupied by the Kuomintang reactionaries, with the capital at Canton, and 3) that section in the Nanking-Shanghai area dominated by the liberal group under Li Tsung-jen, which remains in Nanking.

Of these three groups, the Communists seem to be the strongest and the liberals the weakest. The so-called "peace talks" are between the CP and the liberals, and the die-hard reactionaries in Canton will never participate in this negotiation. If

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Index for March 5, 1949

Editorial Paragraphs

Peiping Clamp Down 7
Government-Financed Industry 8

Special Articles

Japanese Philosophy And Politics ..... *Joshua W. K. Liao* 11
Kunming's Banknote Massacre 14
Taiwan's Chinese Problem ..... *C. F. Coulter* 15

Economic Section

The Week's Business 16

Departments

Letters From The People 1
25 Years Ago 10
New Of The Week 17
The Review's English Lesson LXXIII 19
Chinese Magazine Roundup 20
US Magazine Roundup 21
What Chinese Papers Say 22
What US Papers Say 23
New Books Of Interest 24

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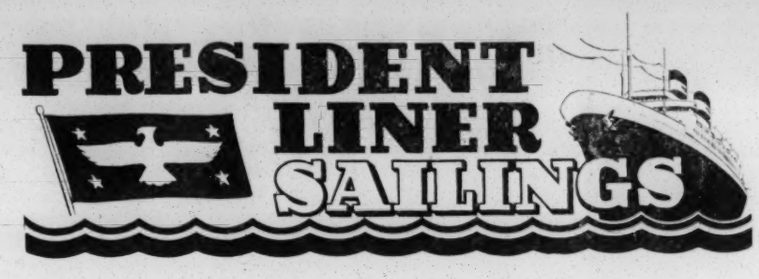

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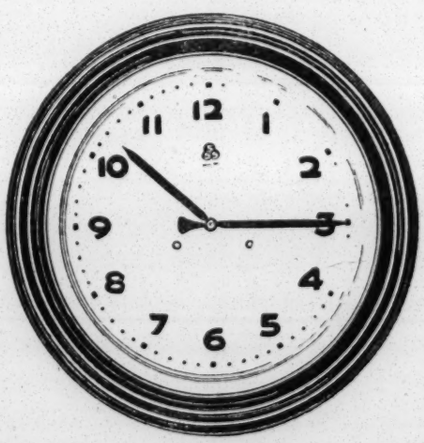

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it can be assumed that the peace negotiation between the Reds and the liberals will succeed, it may be that three months later the CP, together with the liberals, will resume further Civil War against the reactionaries. Then the end of this civil strife shall bring about a true, intrinsic peace.

H. S. C.

Soochow
February 13, 1949

People First

To The Editor:

Everybody wants peace and better living conditions. The Government has already expressed its sincerity in wanting to work toward peace, and proved it last month by abolishing some unreasonable laws.

Up to now, however, the Communists seem unlikely to negotiate with the Government and intend to continue the wicked Civil War. They insist on the point of the surrender of the war criminals. This fully exposes their true purpose. For the good of the common people, I cannot but hope the Communists will give up their ambition at once and open the way for peace talks.

Most of the people are not interested in what system of government is adopted, but only want to be able to live more comfortably. Therefore, the Communists should think of the people first and cease fire at once.

Ting Shao-chuan

Nanking
February 13, 1949

Wants Early Peace

To The Editor:

The time which most probably will decide the fate of our country is drawing near. I hold the conviction that it is not until the war is over that China can have a bright future. There is no room for doubt that thousands and thousands of people have suffered much during the Sino-Japanese war and the present internecine strife. This is especially true for those people who live in the provinces of northern and eastern China.

Now that the authorities are open to discussion of the peace problem, we Chinese should take this golden opportunity to put peace into practice. It is generally hoped that the KMT and the CP will take the desires of the people into consideration and bring about peace at the earliest possible time. Then there can be some hope of making China a powerful nation.

Y. D. CHANG.

Tseliutsing, Szechuen
February 21, 1949

Chaotic Confusion

To The Editor:

Prices for everything have skyrocketed. Some say this is because of the fluctuations of the silver dollar. Peddlers selling these coins are very cunning and never sell more than two or three at a time, for within one hour they hope that the price will have risen. Sometimes they ask different prices within the same hour. But there are many customers who buy these silver dollars as something which they can hang on to.

This economic crisis arises directly from this rotten and confused society. This crisis foretells the collapse of the present society. In a sound and stable society people do not have to worry about such chaotic confusion. We have heard that in the Red areas there are no such strange phenomena to be found. The Reds carry out a steady and correct

economic policy to suit the needs of the people.

Of course the present peace talks have had some effect on the market. We Chinese people reaffirm that we want peace, but only a real peace—and a permanent peace. Any false or temporary peace must be abandoned and the people will be deceived no longer. Only with real peace—peace for the welfare of the whole of China—can China, now half-dying, be saved.

C.P.T.

Honan University
Soochow
February 3, 1949

Three Executions

To The Editor:

The execution of the three employees of the Public Bus Company produced a minor sensation in Shanghai and will, it is hoped, check further strikes. While we admire the courage and wise measures adopted by our hitherto tolerant Government, we cannot help sharing sympathetic tears with the families of the victims. For worse instigators and fomenters of trouble have been exonerated, and scoundrels who are creating havoc are still at large.

Insignificant and negligible as the lives of these three people may appear to most of us, a liberal government would have considered the problem seriously. From the legal point of view, we applaud any step taken by our Government which is for the welfare of the people. But we cannot agree that the death sentence is a panacea applicable to all cases. The people have as much right to ask for a decent living as the Government does to maintain law and order. We do not think strikes and other means of violence proper, but the motives behind these foolish and reckless actions deserve our compassion.

I am not suggesting the abolition of the emergency measures which are considered necessary to preserve peace and order in this city, but I hope that our Government will do something to check the rampaging prices, and that the same law which was meted out to the offenders last Thursday will also be applied to those who intentionally create confusion for their own gains.

H. C. HUANG.

Shanghai
February 19, 1949

Turnabout

To The Editor:

In Nanchang, a number of legislators of Kiangsi organized a bandit-suppression group which was in favor of the Civil War. But now, hearing that the Government is too weak to fight any longer, they have changed their purpose to peace improvement.

One of this group said: "We stand for the people and have been working for their interests. We were in favor of the war because we hoped the war would bring them peace. Now the time is coming when we must bring the Civil War to a standstill because the people can live no longer if the war goes on."

Now that the Government has no strength to continue the war, the Government's representatives cannot do otherwise than ask the Communists for peace in the name of the people in order to prolong their own lives. Why did they not advise the Government earlier to come to terms with the Communists?

N. H. Y.

Nanchang, Kiangsi
February 6, 1949

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Wants Friend

To The Editor:

Despite a person's ability, if he wants to study a foreign language I believe he must learn the traditions, habits and customs of the nation whose language he wants to learn. Being a self-taught English student and living in a small city in Taiwan without a library to provide this essential knowledge I am most anxious to meet a friend who belongs to the people and speaks English. My address is 104 Len-Ai Road, Pengtung, Taiwan.

A TAIWAN READER.

Pengtung, Taiwan
February 12, 1949

Red Gains

To The Editor:

The following incidents indicate how the Communists in Kwangtung are steadily gaining ground.

In Sinfeng, a hsien of the East River region where Communist activity has been most prevalent, one after another newly appointed magistrate has been ambushed and taken captive on his way to the hsien city where he was to assume office. Up to now the post of chief executive of the hsien has not been filled.

In Suichi, a hsien close to the commercial center of Kwangchowwan, a Communist-inspired revolt broke out in the ranks of the Provincial Peace Preservation Corps. This was later confirmed by a Communist broadcast. After the resulting death of the commander of the 10th Bandit Suppression Area, together with some of his officers and men, provincial authorities called a series of emergency conferences to discuss ways to cope with the situation.

A pro-Kuomintang Hongkong paper reported that several hundred Red guerrillas were massing at Taiwan, a town in the West River valley near Loting, and were preparing to attack Loting.

A couple of months ago, in the very town where I live, a Red detachment launched a surprise night attack on the garrison troops stationed in the suburbs and were forced back only because heavy reinforcements arrived.

I don't see how the provincial authorities will be able to save the province from eventual Red domination short of the success of the peace negotiations between the KMT and the CP.

C. HSU.

Hoiping, Kwangtung
February 17, 1949

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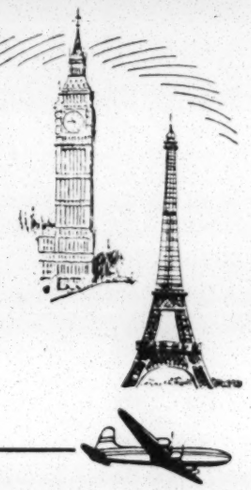

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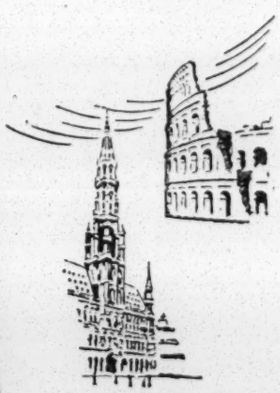

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Canton Scene

To The Editor:

I arrived in Canton on February 6 to find the weather warm and business prospering. With the continuous influx of government ministries and various other organizations, the housing problem has reached large proportions. Our bank has rented two hotels as temporary dormitories for the staff members.

Prices are alarmingly high as commodity prices are calculated on the basis of Hong Kong currency and the Hong Kong dollar is used freely in open transaction. I doubt whether I shall be able to maintain my livelihood, since my pay is still in gold yuan. The quotation on gold is now $120,000, with greenbacks at $2,000, and the Hongkong dollar at 410, and the financial situation is in general disorder.

ALFRED WANG.

Canton
February 13, 1949

Everyone Waiting

To The Editor:

With the repeated defeats of the Government troops and the collapse of the Gold Yuan after only a few months, the Kuomintang Party now faces a situation so critical that no trace of optimism exists. The Government's attempts to check the devaluation of the Gold Yuan have been useless: Commodity prices are breaking all records, and silver in Kweilin has doubled and trebled. Many places are said to refuse to accept Gold Yuan and base their prices on rice.

But the salaries of our professors and the Government subsidies for the students are still frozen at the official level. Our February allotment was only enough for food for a few days. Only a loan of rice from the Kwangsi Provincial Government keeps us from starving.

Today as I walked toward Kweilin I saw shocking sights. Our school workmen, clad only in rags and almost barefoot, with no protection from the rain and cold, worked with patient resignation. But how could I help them except to sympathize with them?

Kwangsi was formerly pointed out as the paradise of China. It has now dropped so far from its high standards that everyone is waiting for the great change that is sure to come, for they must live!

HARRY HSIEH

Kwangsi University
Kweilin, Kwangsi
February 8, 1949.

Relief Medicine Sold

To The Editor:

Thanks for your notice of final expiration of my subscription. I am very pleased to continue my subscription to the *Review* so that I can derive the many advantages from this famous paper in China, but I shall not be able to subscribe to it for two months, when my circumstances may be improved.

I would like to tell you something about this province of Sikang so you may publish it in the *Review*.

The facts of the corruption and avarice of the provincial health administration of Sikang have been known for some time. I will not introduce the name of the head of this health administration here; it should be known, however, that this man has amassed a great deal of wealth by selling for very high prices medicine which was contributed by America, Canada, etc., through UNRRA. Many persons have died because they did not have enough money to buy this medicine.

The Tibetan rural peoples are highly religious-minded, and the people still burn incense and make offerings to the gods when their families are dangerously sick. Their superstitions are no doubt born of ignorance.

We want to ask the Ministry of Health in Nanking whether it has received a detailed report about medical efficiency in this province, and if it is interested in results being obtained from the medicines it supplies for the welfare of the various provinces.

H. S. LING.

Kangting, Sikang
January 28, 1949

Certainly Not Here

To The Editor:

Since the peace offer from Nanking, every Chinese (and I am no exception) has been prepared to see some miracle worked out. But no peace comes. Will we live to see and enjoy peace in our country?

The corruption of Nanking has boomeranged, and China now faces the question of Communism. No one will mourn for the Nationalists, but what will the government under the Communists be? A police state? A dictatorship? A satellite of Moscow? I am not a student of Karl Marx, nor a disciple of modern democracy, but a Chinese to whom liberty is necessary to life. The USA is not so bad, as I understand that every individual has his dignity and liberty.

Nanking has been too busy to worry about its poor employees, and a clerk must manage to live on one silver dollar a month. Would you suggest a job which pays more than one silver dollar?

MARK DARLIE.

Lanchow, Kansu
February 15, 1949

School Fees

To The Editor:

A meeting in Chungking of the Bureau of Education, schoolmasters, and delegates of the city council was held on the 18th of January to set up the method for collecting the tuition and boarding fees for the next term.

The following resolutions were passed: 1) The tuition fee shall not be greater than the boarding fee. 2) The boarding fee shall be three piculs of rice.

A public announcement was made by the superior officer of the Bureau of Education that no private, middle or primary school shall disobey these resolutions, that any school collecting more than the stated fee would be severely punished.

Our school, Tsing-hwa Middle School, has now set the tuition fee for the next term at 18 silver dollars, which is equal to almost 15 piculs of rice. The school authorities will accept only silver dollars manufactured in the third year of the Chinese Republic with the picture of Yuan Shih-kai on the face. The combined boarding fee and tuition fee is so high that many students will be compelled to leave school. We question, then, if the school is established for the children of the rich or for the poor *lao pai hsing*.

W. D. J.

Chungking
February 3, 1949

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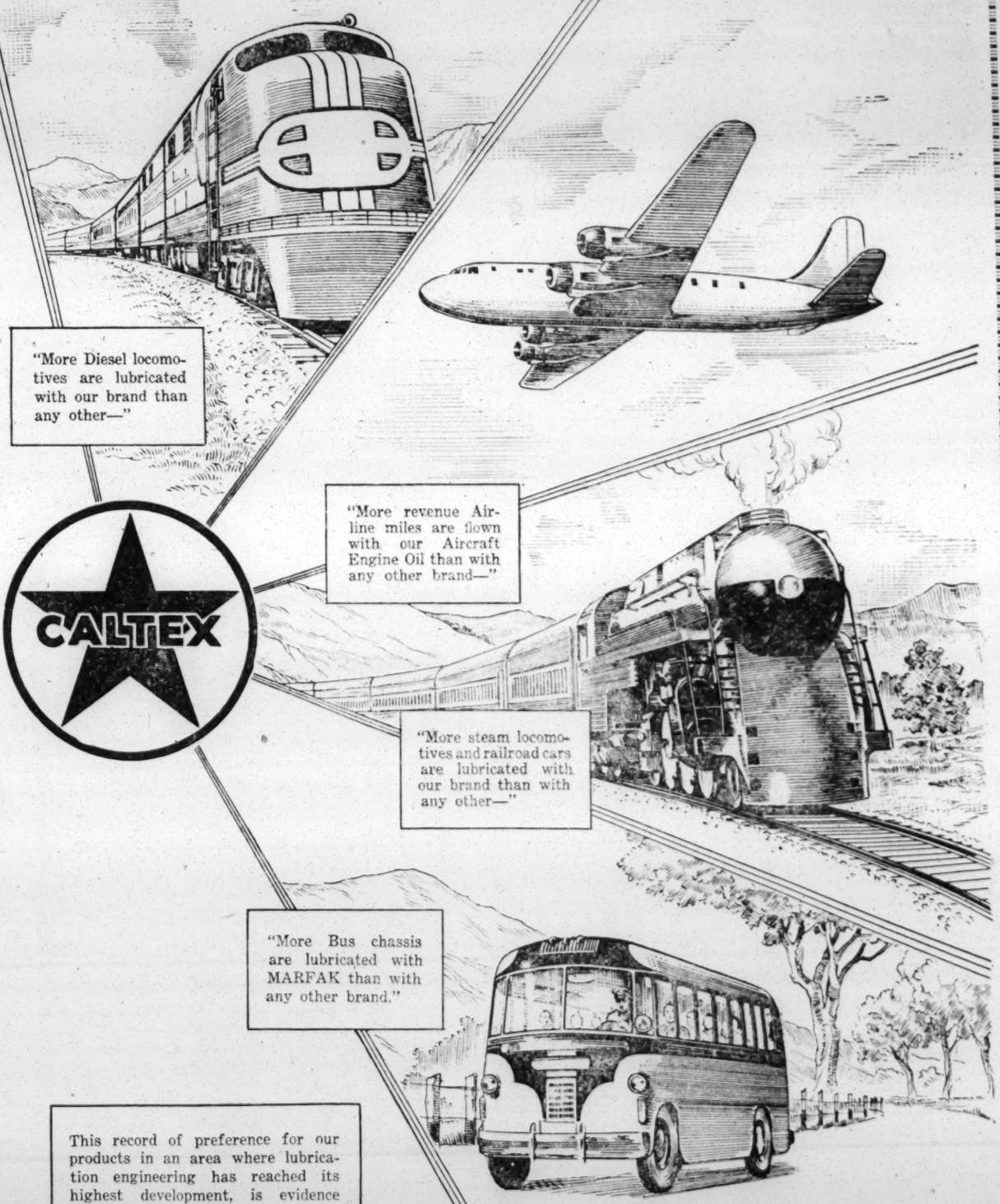

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Vol. 113 Shanghai, Saturday, March 5, 1949 No. 1

Peiping Clamp Down

THE Chinese Communists have ordered all foreign correspondents in Peiping to stop sending stories abroad and to cease their news gathering activities. The order also banned from circulation all foreign newspapers published in Peiping. So far the Communists have not seen fit to explain their reasons for this move further than to state that the city is still the center of military activities and that security demands such action.

In the absence of any news from Peiping, it is well nigh impossible to understand this latest Communist move. However, it is possible to assess some of the repercussions both here and abroad.

Although the Communists may have reasons which, if publicly stated, might make it easier to understand why they have jumped on the foreign press with both feet, we think they have made a bad mistake. From a propaganda point of view, the silencing of the foreign correspondents in Peiping is a first-class blunder. If the Communists had closed telegraphic communications between the city and Nationalist China immediately after they occupied the place — as they have done in other cities such as Mukden and Tsinan—it would probably have caused no more than a lifted eyebrow in the rest of China and abroad. It would have been a move which everyone expected. However, the Communists entered Peiping under somewhat different circumstances than in other major cities previously taken over. The old KMT governing machinery was left intact for weeks, the local press was not touched for quite a while, and foreign correspondents in the city were permitted to continue filing press messages over the radio-telegraph system which continued to function without interruption.

Because of this difference in occupation procedure, the hopes of many people were raised. Previously, we had been told—via the constant barrage of anti-Communist propaganda which issues from official KMT sources—that the first things the Reds did when they entered cities was to rape all the women, force parents to give up their children, and compel husbands and wives to trade spouses. Many normally intelligent people had had these and similar stories dinned into their ears for so long that they were in a high state of panic and often were giving voice to the opinion that while the KMT was bad, it was the lesser of two evils.

The nature of the Communist occupation did more to discount such horror stories than anything else in recent months. Foreign correspondents, who might normally be considered to be non-partisan in the Civil War, reported daily from Peiping, letting the outside world know what went on. With some exceptions, the reporting, while perhaps not "friendly", was not actively hostile to the new regime. These correspondents reported that generally life in the city continued as usual. While this may not have constituted praise for the few early reforms instituted by the Reds, it at least denied effectively all the previous rumors and "accounts" of Communist atrocities. This one fact alone, we believe, was a distinct propaganda asset for the Communists.

Now, for reasons unknown, the Communists have suddenly clamped down on the foreign correspondents. What is the reason? We certainly don't know and we doubt if anybody aside from the Red officials responsible for the order really knows. However, the Communists have now given the rumor spreaders another chance. The stories are already starting: The Reds have decided that now is the time to make husbands trade wives and therefore they silenced the press so that people outside would not find out about it. The Reds decided to begin their usual reign of terror, killing all the rich and enslaving all the poor, and they suppressed the correspondents first so that they could not report it. Naturally, we don't believe such nonsense, but there are many people who are all too willing to believe anything bad that they are told. The Communists, we believe, would have done well to consider all the implications which would be drawn from this move before they acted.

Even in more enlightened circles, the sudden ban on foreign reporters causes surprise and suspicion. "What is it," everyone wonders, "that the Communists don't want the outside world to know." The normal human reaction is that it must be something "bad." If it were something "good" or something which would reflect to the Communists' credit, it would only stand to reason that they would most earnestly desire that the foreign correspondents have every facility to report it abroad. The Communists, as their daily round-the-clock broadcasts in Chinese, Japanese, and English testify, are like the rest of us in that they are not inclined to hide their light under a basket.

* * *

IF THE Communists had imposed censorship upon the plea of military necessity, or if they had revoked the press cards of some of the correspondents whom they felt were "unfriendly", we could have understood it better. But the wholesale suppression of *all* correspondents in Peiping, which includes some of the best in the profession, is a puzzler. Many observers, in-

cluding ourselves, who do not believe that the suppression was so much an official desire to hide some nefarious goings on as it was an extremely ill-considered act by officials too preoccupied with obtaining an end to recognize the unfavorable consequences of the method employed, have advanced various theories.

One such guess is that the Communists never intended to permit foreign correspondents to carry on their work in Peiping but that the difficulties of taking the city over — which we alluded to in the foregoing—prevented them from getting around to dealing with this matter until now. In the past, the Communists moved in with a definite city plan and a large number of trained administrators to put it into action. In Tsinan, for instance, some 8,000 especially trained "cadres" moved in as soon as resistance collapsed and set about restoring order and running the city according to Communist ideas of how it should be done. Communications with the outside world were immediately cut. More or less the same situation prevailed in Mukden.

Peiping, however, apparently fell quite some time before the Communists expected and they were caught flat-footed by Fu Tso-yi's early collapse. One report has it that the training classes for future Communist administrators of Peiping had not even been started, since the Reds had figured that Fu would hold out until late April or early May. The sudden handing of the city to the Reds on a platter caused them considerable embarrassment from an administrative point of view. The only course they could then follow was to take it but have the Nationalists continue to run it for them until such time as they were ready to assume the job. This apparently was the course followed, with a week or two elapsing between the time of the official surrender and the entry into the city of the first Communist troops. The Gold Yuan continued to circulate for about a month after the surrender. In fact, a plane load of GY was flown to the city after the surrender talks were under way and the outcome of the talks well known. Altogether, it was an unusual way for a city to change hands.

Viewed in such a light, the suspension of communications facilities for correspondents and the order forbidding them to engage in reporting activities would appear to be in accordance with the previous Communist policy of keeping foreign or outside observers away from places taken over from the Nationalists. If this theory is correct, the Communists would have been well-advised, from a propaganda point of view, to have denied telegraph facilities to the foreign press from the beginning. Such a procedure would have saved them from the present unfavorable comment and the widespread suspicion with which they are now being regarded in so many circles.

Another popular supposition agrees with the foregoing one insofar as the idea that the Communists took some two months before they got around to closing the correspondents down, but has it that the main reason is that Peiping is still under military control and is therefore technically a war area. The ban, according to those who hold this belief, will be removed once a regular civilian administration takes over control of the city.

* * *

WHATEVER the reason or reasons for the action, we believe that it was not well considered. As we have pointed out, it has put the Communists in a not easily defensible position propaganda-wise. We doubt if the advantages which the Communists hope to gain by this measure, whatever they may be, will offset the bad publicity the move has made for them. While we are not "buying" any of the various rumors about how the iron curtain has been lowered so that the world will not learn of Communist atrocities about to be committed, we are frankly concerned over the matter. As has been pointed out by our American contemporary, the *Evening Post*, various Communist leaders in the past have gone on public record as being in favor of a free press. Being firm believers in the principle of a free and responsible press, we cannot but object to any wholesale suppression of publications or withdrawal of normal facilities to gatherers of news. This is certainly true when the authorities taking such action fail to see fit to state explicitly and publicly their reasons for such action.

We are quite aware that our idea of a free press and the Communists' idea of a free press are at some variance. However, we think that a reporter's abuse of the freedom of the press must be considerable and be proven with documentary evidence before he should be restricted in any manner. This, however, should be well within the power of the Communist authorities. There are, we realize, some representatives in China of the foreign press who have ceased to be objective reporters, having become partisans, pleaders for a special cause. We see their handiwork in the press almost daily, and we would be the last to object if the Communists decided to penalize them, providing that proof (which is easily to be had) were given to the public. However, the complete restriction at one fell swoop of *all* the foreign press representatives in Peiping seems to us to be scarcely justifiable.

Government-Financed Industry

PRESIDENT Truman's proposal for legislation which would allow the Government to finance industrial plant construction in order to provide increased manufacturing capacity in the event the nation should need such capacity and private enterprise was unable or unwilling to provide it has touched off a storm of protest in the United States.

While we can understand the cries of anguish in certain quarters, we certainly cannot agree with much of the reasoning employed by those who would oppose such a measure. Charges of controlled economy, socialism, government-in-business, and death blow to free enterprise are some of the descriptions used by critics, who we note have not yet said much about "public welfare."

Theoretically, a system of free enterprise results in the spurring of the individual's desire to undertake risks with his capital. The rewards must be great in order to encourage people with surplus capital to take the risks involved in establishing new businesses or industries. Such a theory may work when there are great opportunities for exploitation of natural resources, or extensive market possibilities. It will also often work reasonably well in small-scale undertakings where not too much capital is required. However, when an economy becomes well developed and integrated, there are not so many natural resources lying around loose, available for exploitation by the first hardy adventurer who comes along with excess money in his pocket. Further, the highly developed nature of the American economy requires those wishing to launch new enterprises frequently to raise almost unbelievable amounts of risk capital. Sometimes it is impossible to find individuals willing to take a chance which involves millions upon millions of dollars, the return from which may be altogether uncertain.

Since the end of the war, we have had an example of how an industry finds it difficult to expand in order to meet the full demand for its products. Throughout the last war there was a shortage of steel, which was largely the result of insufficient plant capacity. The Government stepped in and built a few blast furnaces and mills which increased the total US steel capacity and eased the pinch somewhat. However, at war's end, there was still a steel shortage which continues today.

At first the large steel companies in America argued against plant expansion, pointing out that it was possible that the high post-war demand was temporary in nature and that any plant expansion undertaken at the present time would require large quantities of steel and thus make the present shortage more acute. Further, it was said, if the demand was, as the steel makers believed, temporary in nature, the expanded plant would become a "white elephant" later on.

Since the post-war demand for steel by American industry has remained high, most steel men have accepted the view that additional plant is needed, although some still claim that refinements in technique will enable the existing plant to produce enough additional steel to satisfy demand. The weight of opinion appears, however, to be on the side of those favoring increased capacity. For three years the automobile and oil industries, to mention but two of the most critically affected, have been limited in their output by the steel shortage. Since it seems certain that the American economy is destined to continue expanding for some time to come, it seems equally certain that more steel, the basis for all heavy industry, will be needed.

While the steel industry has initiated a small amount of new plant construction as a result of Government and public pressure, it still is moving with extreme caution. This is quite understandable. The industry cannot afford to engage in extensive plant modernization and expansion since it is not *absolutely* certain that the demand, say, a decade hence, will be as great as today. Too much expansion now might mean bankruptcy later.

This, it seems to us, is precisely why the Federal Government should step into the picture. The Government should finance the construction of new plants, which when completed need not necessarily be operated by the Government, but which could be rented to private industry. Such a system would relieve the private steel industry of the financial burden and risk of investing tens of millions of dollars in new plant, but would assure adequate steel output at a reasonable price for the needs of the American people. If in the future the demand should slacken, or if private industry's own modernization and expansion activities should prove sufficient, then the Government can temporarily close the plants it built and wait for demand to catch up with capacity. This, we think, is an unlikely possibility since all we have read or heard would indicate that demand will continue to grow rapidly.

We fail to see why legislation authorizing the Government to build plant facilities for increased production of basic materials causes any harm to the system of free enterprise. In fact, it relieves private enterprise of some of the risks inherent in the larger undertakings of modern industry. Also it makes certain that the American people will always have at their command all the necessary production facilities they may need.

TWO ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE QUESTION

"The Losers"
Jacksonville Times-Union

"Holding it up"
San Francisco Chronicle

Some may argue that the entrance of the Government into the plant construction field will reduce opportunities for expansion on the part of private industry. This is not necessarily correct since the proposal, as it now stands, would permit the Government to take action *only* when private industry declined to act. Therefore, private industry could automatically halt Government action by starting construction activities of its own.

The United States has grown exceedingly prosperous through the years, partly, perhaps, because politics has been separated as far as it has from business, but largely due to the fact that the North American continent was a virtual gold mine of unexploited wealth when the founding fathers landed from Europe. These undeveloped resources were a tempting dish for the early rugged individualist who went forth and took from the earth enormous quantities of wealth. The development of these natural resources has given the American people the highest standard of living in the world today. However, as the limits of virgin territory have been reached, development has been along somewhat different lines, involving better and more extensive use of what has already been found. The economic machinery has become vastly more complicated than in the days of the "empire builders." American private enterprise has shown that when surrounded by riches it can produce fabulous amounts of goods. However, it has yet to lick the problem of recurring economic depressions, of providing for the greatest good for the greatest number.

This has been realized and through the years the Government has taken more and more of a hand in regulating economic activity in order to iron out the rough spots. It is our opinion that the Government will do well to think carefully before increasing the extent of its actual *participation* in business, but certainly there is need for even more regulation than now exists. It is in the spirit of regulation that we think the Government might embark upon a modest program of plant expansion in a few of the more essential industries, especially those which require large initial investments which private enterprise either is unwilling or unable to undertake.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

French Criticism Of US Role In China

March 1, 1924

This unusually interesting and significant French viewpoint on American policy toward China appeared originally in *La Nouvelle Revue* for December 1, 1923, the republican literary and political semi-monthly published in Paris:

It is no secret for those who follow with attention affairs in the Far East that America's growing influence in China is gradually bringing that country under the economic control of the United States.

For several years, and particularly since the war, the missionaries, commercial travelers, and manufacturers of that country have carried on in China a program of peaceful penetration, successfully and powerfully supported by their government—a government that professes to be the least imperialistic in the world! It is not necessary to wear a sword or to talk in a military imperative in order to be a conqueror; one can often make broader and more enduring conquests with a Bible under the arm or the last Yankee notion in one's pocket. New China, left unprotected by the arrogance and incapacity of its rulers, falls an easy victim to persuasive advances. Therefore the missionaries and business men of America, the advance guard of a rich and insatiable nation, constitute an economic army far more dangerous than invaders with cannon and rifles.

* * *

Salt Tax

Salt has been taxed in China and has been a chief source of governmental revenue since earliest times, some authorities giving the date of origin as far back as 2200 B.C. during the reign of the mythical emperor Yu of the Hsia dynasty. The early records contain frequent references to the production and taxation of salt. In the Tang dynasty, 7th century, A.D., there were said to be eighteen salt lakes and 640 salt wells under the control of the Board of Revenue and that taxes were also levied upon salt produced from sea water. During this dynasty a certain reformer named Liu Yen is reported to have organized a system of salt administration whereby government control was exercised in the producing districts and transit taxes were abolished. Merchants were permitted to transport salt any place they liked and the government maintained stores in remote districts to prevent suffering on the part of the people from a scarcity of this important element of diet.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Terrorists Warn Shanghai Dancers

March 4, 1939

In an apparent effort to discourage the elite of Shanghai Chinese society from engaging in frivolous and costly pastimes during the present war period, patriotic terrorists, describing themselves as the "Blood and Soul Traitors Extinguishing Corps" hurled bombs outside of four leading Chinese dancing establishments Wednesday night of this week. The sole casualty was a ricsha coolie, whose leg was injured.

The places singled out for attention were the Oriental Hotel, Ciro's night club, the Cathay and Paradise ballroom and the Great Eastern Ballroom. Leaflets showered in the vicinity of the resorts, entitled "A Warning to our Dancing Friends," said in part:

"Dancing Friends: The nation is on the verge of being conquered. We are being crowned with the 'glories' of a conquered people. Have we, who are 'cheating life' in the Isolated Island, not the shame of a conquered people and still resort to such crazy celebrations?

"Dancing Friends: Some of you can dance the Fox Trot, others the Waltz. Why don't you go up to the front to kill? Some of you spend lavishly on brandy and whisky; why don't you give the money to our troops so that they can buy more munitions to kill the enemy?"

* * *

Recognition For Franco

Full and unconditional *de jure* recognition of the Spanish fascist government of Gen. Francisco Franco was announced Feb. 27 by the British and French governments, thus marking another stage in the civil war which, starting in July, 1936, has raged throughout Spain for more than two and a half years. Recognition of Franco by France and Britain, regarded as inevitable for the past several weeks, caused some heartburning in London, where sympathizers of the lost Loyalist cause staged a demonstration in Whitehall by way of protest. Labor Party leaders, including Major Attlee, Herbert Morrison and Ellen Wilkinson addressed the crowd which passed a resolution expressing "shame and abhorrence" at the action of the Chamberlain government.

In both London and Paris, government circles spoke of the recognition of Franco with what appeared to be a sigh of relief and declared the step to be unavoidable. Moscow's chagrin was expressed by the government organ *Izvestia*, which, speaking of France's action, said "recognition of Franco is a heavy blow to the Spanish Republic and a still heavier blow to France."

Japanese Philosophy And Politics

By Joshua W. K. Liao

THE Japanese philosophy of power politics and territorial expansion by virtue of military aggression has its roots in the early history of the country and the national legend of the people. In origin, it took shape through the practice of certain creeds in divine wills and ways and was called Shintoism in the literate age as found in the "Records of Ancient Events" (古事記) and the "History of Japan" (日本書紀). In reality, the national religion of Japan grew out of the ceremonial usages followed by her early tribal chieftains and ancient priest-kings. In the main it offered little or no teaching for the conduct of private individuals until it later took on certain Confucian and Buddhist influences.

Worshipping the spirits of the sun and the moon, mountains and rivers, Shintoism is fetishistic and also polytheistic in nature; but, as it asserts its major belief in the Sun Goddess, it is henotheistic. It claims no founder but gives a mythical account of the divine origin of the Mikado (御門), or Emperor which has been traced to Izanagi (伊弉諾) and Izanami (伊弉冉)—the Japanese Adam and Eve. The daughter of this divine couple, by the name of Amaterasu (天照), conferred upon her grandson Ninigi (瓊瓊杵) the divine right to rule over All-under-Heaven he could survey. The great grandson of Ninigi—the sixth descendant of Amaterasu—at the head of the invading Children of Heaven (天孫) appeared in Hihuga (日向 present Miyazaki Prefecture 宮崎) and at once set out on his eastward campaign for territorial expansion. Navigating through the Seto Inland Sea (瀨戶內海), he overcame all obstacles on the way and, after effecting a landing on the Main Island (本州), he subdued all wild tribes encountered and finally ascended the Imperial Throne in Yamato (大和 present Nara Prefecture 奈良縣) on February 11, 660 B.C. Thereupon the victorious chieftain became the founder and first ruler of the only ruling dynasty and was posthumously called Emperor Jinmu (神武), or Divine Militarist, as he has been revered.

Korean Influence

The historic authenticity of the events as such, however incredible to average readers, has been challenged by few or none of the present-day Japanese scholars. None the less tremendous has been the subsequent influence exercised by such a belief. In all probability, the invading tribes entered the archipelago from the Korean Peninsula for, as far back as it can be traced, the standard Japanese language was Ural-Altai in origin, very similar to Korean, and the dominant classes of people in Japan have borne numerous other resemblances to their continental cousins.

THIS article is the first third of a digest of a volume written by the author before Pearl Harbor, the manuscript of which was lost in Hongkong during the war. The second and third parts will appear in future issues. Dr. Liao, a native of Taiwan (Formosa), received his primary and secondary education in Japanese schools from 1913 to 1923. Following this, he attended a Chinese university and subsequently took post-graduate work in America and Europe. He has written several articles for the *Review* in the past, his most recent being a series devoted to the history of Chinese philosophy.—Editor.

Assured of victory by their possession of metallic (probably bronze) weapons, they kept waging battles against the aborigines. Thus, because the demand for *Lebensraum* in the new country necessitated the expansion of territory at the expense of the Ainu (倭奴) in the east and the north and the Kumaso (熊襲) tribes in the south, Emperor Jinmu's successors similarly made their influence felt through military conquest, on the one hand, and the popular practice of the worship of the Sun Goddess, on the other.

The first historic contact between China and Japan was recorded in the "History of the Later Han" (後漢書), which tells us that in A.D. 57 the Ainu (倭奴) Kingdom from the East Sea sent an envoy with tribute to the Chinese Court to whom the Han Emperor Kuang-wu (漢光武帝) granted a seal. According to Japanese sources, that was about the time new campaigns for territorial expansion were under way. For in the year 97, Yamatotakeru (日本武), the able son of the 12th Japanese Emperor Keiko (景行), led a southward expedition to Satsuma (薩摩 western half of the present Kagoshima Prefecture 鹿兒島縣) to subdue the Kumaso tribesmen and in 110 he moved eastward to conquer the Ezo (蝦夷) natives and succeeded in expanding the imperial territory as far as Shinano (信濃 present Nagano Prefecture 長野縣). It is believed that he was in possession of a famous sword made of the best steel of the age, whose origin, whether imported or home made, remains untraceable. He passed away during his triumphant return and has been worshipped as the first and one of the greatest Japanese war heroes.

Similarly, in 199, the year following the demise of the 14th Emperor Chyuai (仲哀), the Empress Dowager Jingu (神功), or Divine Merits, led a westward expedition against Korea and exacted tribute from the Peninsula. She is supposed to have ruled up to 269. According to the Chinese "Records of Wei" (魏志), an envoy from the Ainu queen visited the Wei court in 238, the year which occurred during her reign.

Thus, not only was the right and origin of the *Mikado* traced to divine origins, but also every military or diplomatic success was called a divine accomplishment ordained by Providence. The people, therefore, worshipped both the Sun Goddess and her lineal descendants, who governed them and expanded their living space. So thoroughly did the sentiment of reverence for the *Mikado* permeate the soul of the Japanese nation that even in the subsequent days of the military dictatorship of the *Shoguns* (將軍 1192-1868) the Emperors could still win loyal homage from the masses of the people and claim nominal supremacy over the feudal lords and the actual rulers of the Empire. For the Imperial Household remained the concrete object of worship, functioning as the centripetal force of religious and social order.

Confucianism and Buddhism

Meanwhile, alien ideas, as expounded through Confucianism and Buddhism, began to mould Shintoism into an elaborate code of rites and rules, as well as a system of ideological foundations for the political and social institutions of the country. Although the Japanese must have acquired some knowledge of Chinese culture when they first came into direct contact with the Chinese, their history tells us that in the year 285 the Korean scholar Wa Ni (王仁) presented to the 15th Emperor Ojin (應神) copies of the "Confucian Analects" (論語) and the "Thousand Character Scripture" (千字文). Thenceforth the Chinese script and philosophy spread rather slowly. In 403, the Imperial Court appointed Sinologists—mostly descendants of Korean immigrants—historiographers of the feudal states, and in 513, Kudara (百濟), one of the then three Korean Kingdoms, presented the erudite scholar Tuan Yang-erh (段楊爾) to lecture on the Five Classics (五經). However, when the 30th Emperor Mintatsu (敏達) ordered the historiographers of the feudal states to read the official letter written in Chinese from Korea upon his accession in 572, only one of them could read it.

It was not until the beginning of 603 that the Empress Suiko (推古) adopted the Chinese calendar for the first time. In the fourth month of the same year Prince Shotoku (德聖) promulgated the Constitution of 17 Articles, specifying the distinction between ruler and subject and stressing the latter's loyalty to the former

and the former's consideration of the latter's welfare all after Confucian teachings. In the ninth month, court ceremonies were codified after the Chinese system.

About this time, Monk Nan-yuan (南淵) was sent to China to study. After his return he was more interested and successful in spreading Confucian than Buddhist ideas. From then until the 16th century practically all prominent Sinologists in Japan were Buddhist monks, for under the pressure of the Court nobles and the *Samurais* there had not yet appeared professional teachers and scholars on a par with the Chinese Literati of classic antiquity. Nonetheless, by imperial decrees the "Records of Ancient Events" were completed in 712 and the "History of Japan" in 720, both after the model of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's (司馬遷) "Historical Records" (史記), and the "Collection of Ten Thousand Odes" (萬葉集) was issued in 759, modeled after the "Book of Poetry" (書經).

While Confucianism, dwelling upon life in this world, added to the body of Japan, Buddhism, interested in life hereafter, furnished the country and the people with their soul. The Indian doctrine of Brahaman and Atman—the world-being and its manifestation in an individual being—took the form of the doctrine of individual self-mergence into the supreme interest of the nation, and its spirit came to be called the "Yamato Tamashii (大和魂)." With the traditional cult of emperor-worship and the Confucian teaching of loyalty and subordination to superiors, this new idea fitted in like hand and glove. Thus, while stressing filial piety in China, Confucianism in Japan concentrated on loyalty; while talking about the world-being in India, Buddhism in Japan came to enhance the sense of the national soul.

Initial Opposition

Queerly enough, at a time when Buddhism had long before declined in India and had just passed its zenith and was on the decline in China, it started flourishing in Japan. The first Buddha brought to the Japanese Imperial Court from Korea in 552 aroused bitter opposition. Its adherents, however, kept contact with Korean Buddhists first and later sent monks to China to import the new religion. During the T'ang Dynasty two Chinese-educated monks, Saicho (最澄) and Kukai (空海), were able practically to transform the cultural, political, and religious life of the Japanese. In 788, the former, for the purpose of preaching Buddhism of the T'ien-t'ai School (天台宗), built the famous Enryaku Temple (延慶寺) on Mt. Hio (比叡山), overlooking the then capital city of Kyoto. On account of its proximity to the political and cultural center of the Empire, discontented politicians, warriors, and unemployed vagabonds very often either sought aid from the temple or found shelter there by joining its monastery. When well supported, they resumed their political activities and revived their hereditary pugnacity to the extent that in the course of time there appeared a new fighting class of "monk-soldiers" (僧兵) to meddle in State affairs. Thus, while preaching pacifism elsewhere, Buddhism in Japan came not only to tolerate but even to equate militarism.

Hitherto most of the Japanese writers had adopted Chinese characters entirely—some for ideographical designations and some for phonographic purposes—which often caused confusion and complications. It took five centuries of incubation before an indigenous system of writing made its appearance. In 806, Monk Kukai, by selecting and modifying certain Chinese characters, invented the Japanese alphabet of 47 phonographic letters, which brought the literary life of the country to a new level. He founded and preached the True Word School (眞言宗) in Japan.

Shinran's School

During the Sung Dynasty a Buddhist Protestant Revolution was launched and led by another Chinese-returned monk, Shinran (親鸞), who had imbibed Buddhism of the Pure Land School (淨土宗). To popularize the religion throughout his native land after his return, he attempted to accommodate it with the mundane needs of life by allowing monks meat and matrimony. The consequent reformed sect, called the "Pure Land True School" (淨土眞宗), was small in the beginning but became well-liked at once, so that nowadays the great majority of the Japanese Buddhists are followers of Shinran and almost every non-Christian Japanese is a Shintoist in public but a Buddhist in private life.

In 1253, there appeared the Japanese Buddhist Wesley in the person of Monk Nichiren (日蓮). He began as an expert in the "Lotus Scripture" (法華經) and regarded it as the principal gospel of Buddhism. With his base established at Kamakura (鎌倉), seat of the then *Shogunate*, he decided to preach what he considered to be the sublime phase of the religion and therefore spent most of his time journeying all over the countryside and undertaking a series of revival meetings. So magnetic was his personality that every congregation was nearly hypnotized by his sermons and almost every patient was healed by his contact. He founded the Sun Lotus School (日蓮宗).

Showing his interest in political affairs, Nichiren in 1260 submitted to the Lord Protector Hojo Tokiyori (北條時賴), his doctrine of installing the right man and thereby stabilizing the country, and in 1266 he presented to the Lord Protector Tokimune (時宗) his warning against an imminent Mongol invasion, which actually took place 15 years later in 1281. As the intimacy between politics and Buddhism grew, not only members of the Imperial Household would leave home and become monks and nuns, but even emperors would abdicate and retire to enjoy the monastic life. However, like early Christianity in Rome, Buddhism in Japan gave politics its best elements—the ethics of social service and self-sacrifice and the metaphysics of idealism and spiritualism, but derived from politics the worst factors, such as intrigue and hypocrisy, pugnacity and dissension.

Bushido and Militarism

In a country like Japan, where constant warfare was waged to expand its territory at the expense of neighbors, the emergence of professional warriors with growing prestige had been a social necessity. The fighting group, who had been taught to worship the Sun Goddess and the *Mikado* and to obey their feudal lords, welcomed the Confucian ethics of loyalty and filial piety, fidelity and justice, but did not develop into a special social class before the rise of the *Shogunate* in 1192. It was the first *Shogun*, or Military Dictator, Minamoto Yoritomo (源賴朝), who, in order to regulate his subordinate warriors, laid down certain precepts which became the germ of *Bushido*, or Way of the Warriors. Whereas Shintoism had hitherto neglected the regulation of the conduct of private individuals, professional warriors were now instructed to be industrious and frugal, orderly and clean, loyal and brave, righteous and chivalrous, thus setting a good example to the commoners. Always and everywhere the ruling authorities inculcated such principles and habits into the minds of the future warriors. Of Buddhism, the Dhyana School (禪宗) in particular advised them to practise Dhyana so as to subdue corporeal desires and devote their individual selves to supreme causes; Confucianism promised to uphold the social status and code of honor to those of the *chun tzu* (君子), or gentry in China.

Thenceforth, *Bushido*, as observed by professional warriors called "Samurai," developed through the blend of Japanese militarism, Chinese moralism, and Indian mysticism, and the *Samurai* emerged gradually to occupy the central position in the social hierarchy of Japan. Just as the cherry blossom among flowers, the *Samurai* among men was regarded as the most brilliant element. Proud of himself, he respected himself, expecting, as well as expected, to live up to every bit of the knightly code of honor. He would prefer death to disgrace. And to die an honorable death he would commit *harakiri* or disembowelment, to reveal his courage and justice. When his superior was wronged, he should, for the cause of loyalty, avenge him even at the risk of his own life. Unlike European Cavaliers, he showed no mercy on weaker elements—even women and children—a trait which has characterized Japanese life.

With the *Samurai* developed into the social *elite*, the commoners, like flocks of sheep, looked up to them for guidance and example. Every boy admired the warrior, wanted to become a warrior, and felt proud of acting like a warrior. If he later was actually taken into the fighting class, he would thereby bring glory

to his family. Small wonder that, by such a system of military and social education which functioned for six straight centuries, the semi-barbarous islanders were actually transformed into an efficient people of industry and frugality, courage and obedience.

For centuries every feudal lord, to safeguard his position and expand his domains, would keep a number of warriors and henchmen, and every warrior would, in turn, strive to keep his own protégés. In time of peace, the subordinate would gather information for his superior through investigation and espionage and create rupture and dissension among neighbors and rivals by means of tricks and intrigues; in cases of emergency, he would rally round his master and fight so as to get his title promoted and his bounty increased. If his master were lost, unless he could avenge him at once and find a new one, he would become a *ronin* (浪人) roaming from state to state.

National Traits

Therefore, by *Bushido*, too, were formed other national traits of the Japanese—pugnacity and intrigue, cruelty and blind submission or docility which were vividly reflected in the 6-century history of the *Shogunate*.

Fully blood-stained, the whole history in the main narrates the family feud between the Tairas (平氏) and the Minamotos (源氏) that created all episodes of homicide and suicide, patricide and fratricide, regicide and genocide. Originally descended from the Imperial Family, though at different periods, the two clans early distinguished themselves with military prowess for the *Mikado*; the Tairas in suppressing local rebellions and the Minamotos in subduing the Ainu tribesmen. Meanwhile, they became the worst rivals for power and prestige. In the beginning, the Tairas gained the upper hand, but in 1185 the Minamotos under Yoritomo's leadership, after a successful comeback campaign, exterminated them.

First Shogun

In 1192, Yoritomo became the first *Shogun;* but in 1203 the reins of government fell into the hands of the Hojos (北條氏), a branch of the Tairas, who dared not arrogate the title of *Shogun* but remained contented with being known as Lord Protector (執權). They were overthrown in 1333 and replaced by the Ashikagas (足利氏), olive branches of the Minamotos. Anxious to hold the title of *Shogun* but unable to keep the feudal lords in order, the Ashikagas lingered on to see civil war spreading far and wide. For instance, Yoshimitzu (義滿), in order to enhance his dignity, had to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty openly from 1401 onward. In 1573, the line was ended by Oda Nobunaga (織田信長), a descendant of the Tairas.

When Nobunaga was emerging victorious over his rivals, he came to know Portuguese activities in Japan in introducing western firearms, medicine, and Catholic Christianity. He liked things western and so patronized Christians. But his subordinate and successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豐臣秀吉), who had hailed from the social substrata and had driven Nobunaga's son to suicide, was so anti-foreign as to persecute Christians and dispatch expeditions against Korea and China in 1591 and 1597. After his death in 1598, a similar fate befell his own son, who was exiled in 1603 by Tokugawa Ieyasu (德川家康), a descendant of the Minamotos and the founder of the last *Shogunate* in Japan.

Closed-door Policy

For fear that western ideas and munitions might seduce feudal lords of remote states, the Tokugawas were equally anti-foreign and anti-Christian and drove Christian converts into a rebellion at Shimabara (原島) from 1637 to 1638. In 1639, they even promulgated a closed-door policy, forbidding all foreign trade and intercourse except with Chinese and Dutch merchants. This isolationism lasted for two full centuries. Thus, just as the cosmopolitanism of Confucianism and Buddhism became insular after entering the island Empire, so did *Bushido* remain provincial until fused with alien ideas in the 19th century.

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Kunming's Banknote Massacre

(On February 22, a REUTER dispatch from Nanking quoted the Catholic paper YI SHIH PAO as reporting that Governor Lu Han of Yunnan province had summarily ordered the execution of 21 civilians in Kunming on February 12, after a crowd of 2,000 persons had stormed the Central Bank to demand that it redeem thousands of what were rumored to be counterfeit GY notes that had been circulating on the market. Three of our readers in Kunming, Messrs. Gordon Young, Galahad Wood, and Shew-han Lin, have sent in accounts of this incident which correspond in almost every detail. The following is based upon their reports—Editor.)

THE inflation of Gold Yuan had become so acute in Yunnan that Kunming newspapers referred to it as a "burning ball" which no one could hang on to. Although GY was still the monetary standard, everyone who had it immediately turned it into rice, gold, silver or something else of tangible value. This is the background of the catastrophe that was to follow.

On the eve of the Chinese New Year, January 28, the rate between GY and the silver dollar was GY67 to one. But on February 11, a cargo plane loaded with GY landed at Wu Chai Pa airfield, just outside of Kunming. The price of silver immediately jumped to GY1,500. That night and the next morning clerks of the Central Bank circulated through the silver market selling purple GY50 notes for silver dollars.

But soon a rumor spread that these notes were counterfeit, and within an hour merchants refused to accept them. Late that Saturday morning people who held these GY bills began to gather in front of the Central Bank to try to exchange them. Unfortunately, however, it was Saturday and the staff of the bank was in a hurry to finish business before the weekend. They therefore stamped the notes "cancelled" and refused to accept them.

Crowd Rushed Bank

As the day wore on, more and more people converged in front of the bank and tempers grew shorter. Finally, about three o'clock in the afternoon someone in the crowd yelled, "Let's go in!" and the crowd thereupon rushed the bank. Windows were broken, accounting books torn up and thrown out the windows, furniture broken up and the telephones and wires pulled out. Upstairs, the mob found stocks of cotton yarn, nylon hose, foreign soap and sheetings and other luxuries. These, too, were thrown out the windows.

By this time the police and gendarmes arrived on the scene, declared martial law, blocked traffic around the bank and entered the building. At this point the accounts vary slightly. One version said the iron-barred gates of the bank were shut and more than 100 people trapped inside. The other two indicated that some of the persons arrested were caught outside the bank.

At any rate, all the shops on the main streets shut their doors and the crowd waited anxiously for the next step.

Governor Arrives

Around five or six p.m., General Lu Han, the governor of Yunnan, arrived, together with Mayor Chin Shu-whui, General-secretary Wong Yi of the Police Headquarters and Wu Yung, chief manager of the bank. The governor seated himself before a table as temporary judge and the prisoners, guarded by armed police and gendarmes, were brought before him.

One by one he questioned them. The first, a boy of 17 named Fen Chang-anh, was asked three simple questions and then ordered to be shot. No one was asked more than five or six questions and, depending on the governor's whim, punishment was meted out. By the time that 30 people had been questioned and 10 of them shot, most of the provincial authorities standing by were so upset that they tried to persuade the governor to turn the matter over to the police authorities. But with no success. Finally, after 21 persons had been executed some of the military officers suggested tactfully to the general that it was getting late and he needed to rest. At nine o'clock he went away and martial law was lifted.

The 21 bodies lay in pools of blood in a lane opposite the bank. Some of the other prisoners were released and the rest taken to police headquarters.

The next morning, Sunday, February 13, hundreds of people gathered around the corpses where family members were weeping over the bodies. One young woman carrying a baby rushed to one of the bodies and fell upon it crying bitterly; she was his wife. Almost unconscious with grief, she left her baby beside her husband's corpse. Nobody knew where she went, but the next day a woman's corpse was found in the Pan Lung river outside the eastern gate of the city.

Another man, it was reported, had sold some cotton thread to get money to pay the hospital bill for his wife, who had just had a baby and was ready to leave the hospital. He was given a bundle of the purple GY50 notes and the hospital refused to accept them. He then went to the bank and participated in the riot and was shot. When his wife heard the bad news, she poisoned her child and hanged herself.

People Blamed

The *Central News Agency*, either unaware of the true story or in defense of the bank, blamed the people, saying that the bank had promised to exchange the banknotes, whether they were real or false, and that the people had broken into the bank before the employees could get back to work from the Saturday afternoon holiday. The bank also published a statement saying that from now on all purple notes would be exchanged. But the people were not satisfied, for they could not understand why the bank had refused the notes on Saturday and agreed to accept them on Sunday. They felt full responsibility for the incident should be born by the bank.

Regardless of who is responsible, the feeling was that the incident was a direct result of the inflation and suffering of the people, and that tragedies like this are only the beginning.

An open petition has been sent to the Executive and Control Yuans demanding the punishment and dismissal of Wu Yung, general manager of the bank, and the payment of a pension to the families of the deceased. The Yunnan branch office of the Control Yuan also has sent a document to Governor Lu Han asking for a full explanation of the matter. But this is considered to be primarily a political gesture.

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Taiwan's Chinese Problem

C. F. Coulter

TAIWAN today is swollen with refugees from Communist-threatened areas of China. Businessmen, industrialists, Government officials and defeated generals are moving into hotels or purchasing houses at exorbitant prices.

Between 300,000 and 700,000 mainlanders are estimated to have arrived on the island, and the ships bringing them are carrying two or three times their authorized passenger lists. This is a sizeable amount for an island of Taiwan's size (232 by 92 miles) and population (six and a half million) to absorb.

As a result of this influx, prices are soaring beyond the reach of ordinary Taiwanese, and real estate is experiencing a minor boom. Houses which a year ago sold for US$5,000 now bring three times that amount. Many mainland Chinese are investing their money in new construction and are making fabulous profits.

This construction cannot satisfy the demand, however, and the Chinese Army, according to reports from Taiwanese, has been confiscating houses and rice. The mainland Chinese, moreover, are taking over political positions formerly held by the Taiwanese. After VJ Day, the Chinese moved into the top positions, but the Taiwanese managed to keep their control at the village level as they had done under the Japanese. Now, however, the streams of Chinese from the mainland are edging into these posts. Almost all of the magistrates, for instance, now are Chinese, and even the village cooperatives are beginning to fall under Chinese control.

Docks Crammed

The migration of Chinese from the mainland has been accompanied by a mass movement of materiel. The docks are crammed with thousands of tons of goods hurriedly shipped from Shanghai, Nanking and North China. Most of it is a hodge-podge, and much is unusable. An American told one correspondent that most of the goods had been "shipped from one junkyard to another."

The docks at Keelung are weighted down with structural steel armored cars, tanks, machine tools and turbines, and so many ships have arrived that sometimes three have to lie alongside each other and unload simultaneously. Rusty airplane engines and bulldozers are piled beside bricks, which Taiwan makes itself, and alcohol, of which the island has an annual surplus for export. The island administration has banned imports of automobiles, but there are numbers of cars bearing Nanking, Shanghai and Tientsin license plates.

The situation is the same at Kaohsiung in South Taiwan, where mosquito bombers, tanks, gasoline, surplus property from the Pacific islands, and UNRRA property are being unloaded. Fifty thousand bathrobes from America purchased by China out of the US$125,000,000 military aid program also have arrived. In Kaohsiung, incidentally, are the emergency shipments of ammunition which the US rushed to China last fall but which never reached the front.

Much of the confusion has been laid at the feet of the Chinese Army, which requisitioned most ships and loaded them with everything available, while Government agencies with valuable industrial equipment could not obtain shipping space.

Most of the Chinese air force and navy are in Taiwan, and four divisions of the Chinese army are already on the island. There are also 9,000 refugee troops from North China. Thirty thousand officers and men are being trained by General Sun Li-jen, who served under General Stilwell in Burma during the war. General Sun wants to train 30 divisions during the next 18 months, using Taiwan as a staging base in the same way that the United States used England for continental operations.

Trying To Get More Aid

The Chinese are trying to sell America on the idea of Taiwan's strategic importance as a link connecting Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines in case the China mainland goes completely Communist. There are rumors that they are trying to get an additional surplus property arrangement to obtain guns, tanks and ammunition from Okinawa and Japan to arm the troops which are being trained on the island.

Should the United States decide to help establish Taiwan as a military base, the US Military Advisory Group, which was withdrawn from China, still has headquarters in Japan and could be transferred to Taiwan on very short notice.

The US has a primarily strategic interest in the island. The American air force considers it an excellent base for strategic bombers. The Navy, however, is less enthusiastic, feeling that it lacks good harbors and is subject to typhoons.

It is known that General MacArthur has a keen interest in Taiwan. He has told several Americans that the Communists should be resisted in South China but, if that failed, Taiwan should be held because of its importance to America's west Pacific defenses. He also believes that the Economic Cooperation Administration should be used to help preserve America's foothold in China and Taiwan.

ECA officials have been studying the possibility of an expanded program on the island. Roger Lapham, chief of the China mission, has flown to Washington to present recommendations for a new Taiwan program. ECA originally allocated $18,000,000 for the Taiwan industrial - agriculture rehabilitation program. These funds were in the US$70,000,000 industrial allocation which was frozen when Nationalist resistance seemed on the verge of collapsing. Lapham may ask Washington to approve use of the remainder of this money in Taiwan and South China or seek new appropriations from Congress.

The strongest proponents of an economic and military program for Taiwan are the Chinese, who declare that the island can become self-sustaining if America provides the needed capital and equipment. They are trying to establish a firm economic base in Taiwan and make it virtually autonomous from the mainland.

Stabilization Measures

The Government hopes to introduce a separate currency soon to avoid the mainland's inflation. The Central Bank already has shipped between US$100,000,000 and US$150,000,000 worth of gold bullion reserve to Taiwan for safekeeping, and remittances of Chinese currency from the mainland have been stopped. Further immigration of Chinese from the mainland, except for certain skilled workers, capitalists with foreign currency holdings and Government officials, will be prohibited after March 1 in order to reduce population pressure and keep political conditions more stable.

Hydroelectric power is considered the key to Taiwan's future development, to run the factories which have been shipped from the mainland and to expand production for export, the only way Taiwan can become self-sustaining. But the island now produces only 150,000 kilowatts, a fraction of its potential. Under the Japanese, Taiwan's annual exports totalled US$250,000,000, but now they are less than US$30,000,000.

Taiwan uses 650,000 tons of fertilizer in a normal year, which enables two or three crops to be produced, and has enormous capacities for the production of rice, sugar, tea and other agricultural products. But last year Taiwan manufactured only 30,000 tons of fertilizer, and this year may produce 50,000 tons. Thus, fertilizer imports are a great drain on foreign exchange.

However, it is doubtful whether the Chinese Government will be able to solve the island's economic and social problems. Conditions are almost as feudalistic as on the mainland. Most of the sugar land was held by the Japanese, and taken over by the Chinese Government as "alien property." Five hundred large landowners control the bulk of

the island's fertile rice-producing areas. Most of the peasants own some land, but must rent more to make a living. They are subject to the same abuses of land tenancy, usury, heavy taxation and forced sale of crops at a low price that exist in China proper.

The Taiwanese farmer sells his rice on the open market at 650 times the prewar price. But the price of fertilizer has increased 5,000 times, farm tools 2,500 times, and clothing, salt and matches 3,000 times. A day laborer earns between three and four American cents a day.

The various Chinese cliques already are struggling to gain control of the island's spoils. The CC clique has established itself halfway down the west coast of the island and is buying property, investing in industries and banks and fighting for local power, as are other bureaucrats elsewhere on Taiwan.

While Taiwan could be self-sustaining economically and provide a surplus for export to the mainland, it is now being burdened with the upkeep of Chinese military forces. Exports to the US last year totalled only US$2,000,000, which would not be sufficient to buy gasoline for the air force.

An example of Chinese economic planning is their desire to increase sugar production in order to get hard currency. But Japan is Taiwan's primary customer at present, and half of the payments must be accepted in Japanese exports, such as machinery and cotton goods. The island needs these products, but the Chinese prefer dollars. And Taiwan cannot compete in dollar areas.

Another instance is in regard to fertilizers. ECA offered to trade fertilizer for rice, which would be shipped to the mainland to fulfill ECA commitments there. The Chinese accepted the arrangement, on the condition that they receive the fertilizer first. ECA insisted that the exchange be simultaneous, whereupon the Chinese refused to consider the proposition.

Most indicative of Chinese administration is the fact that although dealings in foreign currency are theoretically banned, the best black market rate for US dollars can be obtained at the Government's Bank of Taiwan.

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The Week's Business

THE financial reform measures were finally promulgated on February 24 at Canton, legalizing the circulation of silver coins, lifting the ban against free trading in gold and silver, permitting the import of foreign goods by private foreign exchange, and the collecting of taxes in silver, commodities and Customs Yuan.

The first reaction toward these measures was skeptical. Both financial quotations and commodity prices increased on February 25, despite the dumping of gold bars, commodities, and large sums of Exchange Clearance Certificates. This spurt was checked on March 1, when the money became tight following the announcement of the cost of living index for the second half of February amounting to 643 against that of 349 for the first half of the month. But prices rose again on March 2, following issuance of the new large denomination notes.

It is expected that these reform measures will be difficult to enforce and that they will confuse rather than improve the financial situation. The authorities as late as March 2 had not yet found it possible to promulgate the detailed regulations governing the enforcement of the measures.

The only sign of Government action regarding the new measures was the announcement by the Central Bank on March 1 that US dollar notes would be bought by the Government bank at the rate of GY2,650. Meanwhile the open market rate was as high as GY3,000. Few people, if any, have sold any US dollar notes to the Central Bank so far, but well-informed business circles believe that the Central Bank could succeed in buying US notes only when the money market suddenly becomes very tight and many of the small banks are forced to part with their US notes to meet their financial obligations.

The only other sign of any change has been the decision of the utility companies to collect their fees in terms of a new unit to be known as the "Utility Unit", which is pegged to 0.625 Customs Yuan which, according to the new regulations, is equivalent to 40 cents US currency.

This new system of payment has been approved by the local authorities and was enforced as from March 1. With this as a precedent, it will not be surprising to see in the near future all kinds of units pegged at different rates to the Customs Yuan for the collection of house rent, doctor's bills, school fees, and what not. Greater confusion than ever will be created in the currency, causing considerable inconvenience and financial loss to the general public.

Latest reports say that a gold market will soon be opened and free trading in gold and silver will be started. In this connection, it must be said that the goldsmiths' shops have reopened for business as from March 1, as the ban against trading in gold has been lifted.

The Shanghai Securities Exchange, which was reopened on February 21, has gradually become an active center of speculation and investment. The daily turnover of business in the Exchange increased from 2,126,011,450 shares on February 21 to 4,697,205,130 shares on February 25. On March 1, the total turnover was 3,496,506,270 shares.

As predicted in these columns that notes of large denominations will soon be issued since it has become too expensive for the Government to issue Gold Yuan notes, the Central Bank starting March 1 has begun to issue notes of GY500 and GY1,000 for circulation. The issuance of these big denomination notes, together with the general increase of public utility, shipping and other rates, and the large increase in the cost of living index, will serve as causes for another high jump of prices and quotations in the near future.

One interesting development during the past few weeks has been the increased value of US dollar notes and commodities against gold. While it took over 600 US dollars to buy one gold bar of 10 ounces some weeks ago, it took only 500 to buy one gold bar last week end. This development was said to be caused by the Government decision to lift the ban against import of foreign goods by private exchange. There was reported to be considerable demand from importers for US dollars.

The increased value of commodities in relation to gold is also noticeable. For instance, it took as much as 200 reams of newsprint some months ago to buy one gold bar of 10 ounces. But now it takes only around 120 reams. This decrease in the value of gold against commodities is due to the fact that the fear of military operations in Shanghai area has disappeared, and with the good news of peace negotiations, businessmen believe that there will be an increasing demand for commodities once trade with the vast North China provinces is resumed. Prices are bound to increase, according to these businessmen, because prices of many commodities in the Communist-controlled provinces are higher than market prices in Shanghai.

The following table gives a comparison of the quotations on February 23 and March 2:

	Feb. 23 GY	Mar. 2 GY
Gold	120,000	183,000
US Dollar	2,350	3,650
Clearance Certificate	2,150	2,890
Silver Dollar ...	1,300	2,000
20's Yarn	380,000	626,000
Rice	11,000	17,000
Wing On Textile	2.62	3.76

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Peace Mission Returns Hopeful; Legislative Yuan Now In Session

AFTER a two-week stay in Peiping, the unofficial peace mission headed by Dr. W. W. Yen returned to Nanking on February 27 with something concrete to show for their efforts in the North. In a public statement issued on their arrival in the capital, it was stressed that "the hopes for peace are very high though still facing many difficulties." It was further disclosed that an agreement had been reached in principle with the Communists to facilitate the resumption of telegraphic, mail and shipping relations between Nationalist and Communist China, with the technical details to b worked out by representatives from both sides.

It is understood that the mission had a broad exchange of views with Communist leaders on the question of peace. Two members of the mission, Dr. W. W. Yen, and elder statesman Shao Li-tze, accompanied by General Fu Tso-yi, former Nationalist Commander-in-Chief in North China, also flew to Shihchiachuang to confer with Communist chairman Mao Tze-tung and General Chou En-lai.

The members of the mission refused to divulge the detailed results of their consultations with the Communist leaders. It is alleged that they made a gentleman's agreement with the Communists not to allow any leakage before the formal opening of peace negotiations. However, well-informed sources disclosed that the members of the mission were highly satisfied with their work and were particularly impressed with the sincerity of the Communists' desire for peace. The members of the mission all gained weight during their stay in Peiping and they looked surprisingly robust when they returned to Nanking.

* * *

Practical Basis

A HIGHLY reliable source in Nanking disclosed that a more practical basis had been found for negotiations with the Communists through the efforts of Shao Li-tze and Dr. W. W. Yen. An official source further revealed that the "encouraging news" brought back by the mission has dispelled much of the former pessimism inside the Government so that there now is a general hope for peace, with even some war advocates saying that the talks are practicable.

The *United Press* claimed to have learned the following from "sources in the know:"

1. Communist leader Mao Tze-tung sent a long personal letter to acting President Li Tsung-jen through the peace mission.

2. A more practical basis has been ironed out through discussion between Communist leaders and the peace mission for opening negotiations on peace.

3. Communist leaders agreed in principle not to renew military offensives during the course of peace talks.

4. The peace mission is convinced of the Communists' sincerity to talk peace, and have taken upon themselves the task of persuading the Government to take the same point of view.

5. The Communists will appoint their delegates some time this month and talks will take place in Peiping.

The *UP* said that although no qualified sources would elaborate on the above-mentioned points, it is known that they formed the key notes in the mission's report to acting President Li Tsung-jen.

* * *

Basic Problems

TOP Government leaders in Nanking are having a busy time straightening out their internal disputes and discussing peace plans in anticipation of the forthcoming peace negotiations with the Reds. Leaders of the refugee government in Canton, headed by Sun Fo, are back in Nanking. Top-level field commanders from the provinces either have already arrived in the capital or are on their way. Among them are General Pai Chung-hsi from Hankow, General Cheng Chien from Changsha, General Chang Chih-chung from Lanchow, General Chang Chun from Chungking and General Ho Ying-chin, former minister of war. They are expected to meet under the personal direction of Li Tsung-jen to make a general review of the whole situation.

The *Associated Press* reported February 26 from Nanking: "Across the river, acting President Li Tsung-jen is giving priority to two basic problems. First is the opening of formal peace talks with the Reds. Second is the rallying of all Kuomintang elements on the basis of peace and not for continuation of the war."

It is revealed that, besides peace and Kuomintang unity, the question of reorganization of the armies after peace will be brought up for discussion. General Pai Chung-hsi, General Ho Ying-chin and Minister of National Defense General Hsu Yung-chang are reported to be studying and drafting a preliminary reorganization plan which would be based on an agreement reached at the original Political Consultative Conference three years ago.

Meanwhile, it is understood that Sun Fo's cabinet has rejected a proposal to reduce the army because of opposition from the generals. It is alleged that the recently-announced new economic reform program included a proposal to reduce the army, navy and air force strength to a total of 2,500,000 men which would have affected the army primarily, because the navy and air force complement is negligible.

* * *

Setback For War Mongers

SUN Fo's return to Nanking and the holding of the regular session of the Legislative Yuan in the capital are generally viewed as a setback for the war faction inside the Kuomintang. It is an open secret that this faction wants to run its own show in open challenge to Li Tsung-jen's authority. The sabre-rattling speeches made by Sun Fo and by the Kuomintang's Organization Minister Ku Chen-ting leave no one in doubt as to what this group is up to. However, downright war mongering under present conditions has very little appeal except for a handful of generals and bureaucrats who stand to lose by peace. In spite of bribery and cajoling, the majority of the Legislative Yuan members, following the example of the Control Yuan, decided to meet in Nanking. For fear of losing his job, Sun Fo hurried to Nanking in order to make the best of a bad bargain. It remains to be seen how long he will be able to hang on. The utter confusion and charges of embezzlement of public funds by several ministers during the last flight of the cabinet to Canton have completely discredited Sun Fo and his cabinet.

* * *

Peace Formula

PRESIDENT Tung Kwan-hsien of the Legislative Yuan, in his opening address, said that the hope of the Chinese people was undoubtedly peace, which meant political reform. The reforms involved, he

Warship Joins Reds

CHINA'S largest warship, the 5,260-ton cruiser Chungking, is reported to have deserted to the Reds and is now in the Communist-held port of Chefoo. The ship was a gift from the British and is the pride of the Nationalist navy, with a crew of at least 450 officers and men, the majority of whom were British trained. Ironically, one of her last actions was to cover the Government evacuation of Chefoo.

said, more than a mere reshuffle of officials—in other words, what was wanted was a new political system in which the Government would actually represent the people and work for their welfare. He urged the legislators to aim for a Government that would competently protect the liberties of the people and maintain permanent peace in this country. Tung named a Nationalist peace policy, recovery of economic stability and the improvement of the living conditions of both officials and the people as the three most important subjects for debate.

Well-informed sources disclosed that an influential group of legislators is suggesting that the Legislative Yuan at its current session draft and submit a concrete and practical peace formula for the consideration of the Government. This group, headed by Sar Min Chu I Youth Corps leaders, is reported to be opposed to a localized peace and to be insisting on what they call an over-all peace.

It is felt certain that with the opening of peace talks now definitely in sight, discussion of peace terms is bound to be popular. It is rumored that the rightists in Canton have already mapped out their peace blueprint and Sun Fo has brought it with him to Nanking.

* * *

Reds' Blast

THE rumored dropping of the US plan to withdraw from Tsingtao, at the request of President Li Tsung-jen, was bitterly resented by the Communists, who in a recent broadcast charged that Li still hopes to be able to keep Tsingtao, with the help of the United States Navy, "as a springboard." According to the Communist story, the plans for the evacuation of American marines from Tsingtao were cancelled following a request by Li Tsung-jen to United States Ambassador Stuart. The Red radio further alleged that a policy of supporting Li Tsung-jen was adopted by a Tokyo conference which was attended by Army Secretary Royall.

Charging that notwithstanding his repeated promises Li has accomplished no changes since Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek went into retirement, the Red radio said: "No matter what he says things are unchanged in the least in the areas controlled by Li Tsung-jen. The Nanking Kuomintang Government is still a goverment which actively prepares for war and oppresses the people. United States Ambassador Stuart is still Nanking's overlord."

In this connection, James D. White of the *Associated Press* wrote: "Many Chinese say they expect little difference between the Kwangsi group and the Kuomintang. Both, they point out, are the products of the same period in Chinese history. Will the new set of faces look any different, ask many Chinese. Despite the overwhelming military—and therefore political—strength of the Communists, Chinese indicate that once the Kwangsi group becomes able to speak for all of China south of the Yangtze it may become less willing to wager its new power on a peace which necessarily will be pretty much a sight-unseen proposition...."

* * *

Political Persecution

THE Communists are particularly bitter against the recent wave of terror. The execution of the three bus strikers in Shanghai and the shooting of 21 persons in Kunming were attacked by the Reds as "bloody crimes" and "criminal acts." A Communist radio broadcast warned Nanking to stop such actions or Nationalist peace efforts could not be trusted. It further declared that many anti-Government political elements imprisoned by the Kuomintang in Shanghai "have either been killed in secret or thrown into the Whangpoo River."

In Sian, the Reds charged, Government authorities are re-arresting political prisoners once released and are "scheming to kill them in secret." It said "these bloody facts show that the hypocritical peace gestures of the moribund Kuomintang gang cannot conceal their criminal acts of murdering peaceful civilians."

Recent summary executions and political arrests have aroused the Control Yuan, which, in a resolution adopted at its last meeting held in Nanking, requested President Li Tsung-jen to do something about the situation. The Control Yuan stressed that persecution at the present time is harmful to future peace talks between the Government and the Communists. As a result, President Li on February 26 reminded the Executive Yuan sharply of his directive against illegal arrest.

If Li's previous order has been ignored, it will be interesting to see whether his new order will be respected and obeyed.

* * *

Red Peiping

PEIPING, the ancient capital of feudalistic China, is reported to be undergoing a drastic transformation in its new role as the headquarters of the Chinese Communists. The Communist People's Government for North China has moved from Shihchiachuang to Peiping and it is generally believed to be only a question of time before this government begins to function formally as a Communist central authority. More and more democratic leaders and labor leaders are said to have arrived in Peiping. The All-China Labor Federation and the All-China Student Union also have moved to Peiping. Marshal Li Chi-sen, chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, and responsible leaders of such other democratic groups as the Democratic League and the Workers and Peasant Party are busy in Peiping. It is understood that the democratic leaders are conferring with the Communists on the question of peace and on joint efforts to build up a new China on the basis of Mao Tze-tung's new democracy.

For security reasons, all correspondents of foreign news agencies, newspapers and magazines in Peiping have been ordered to suspend gathering news and sending it out of the city during the "period of military occupation of Peiping." It is generally felt that measure is temporary in nature in view of the phraseology of "period of military occupation."

The United States Information Service in Peiping, as part of the American Consulate General, also has received orders from the Reds to suspend distributing daily newsletters to the Chinese papers.

Many things have been read into the Communists' action in banning the activities of foreign correspondents in Peiping. What is read into it depends largely on where one sits. Qualified observers believe that future developments in this matter hinge on the war situation and on the attitude of foreigners toward the new regime.

Correction

In the article "Should China Use Tractors?" in last week's issue of the *China Weekly Review* (February 26, 1949), it was erroneously stated that if a tractor is to be used for nothing but soil preparation, each mow "must give an average yield of at least 50 catties per mow in rice or the equivalent in order to make its use profitable." This should have read, "an average increase in yield of at least 50 catties per mow . . ."

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The Review's English Lesson—LXXIII

OUR friend, Mr. A. L. Chen of Wenchow, has sent us another list of words he would like explained:

Move, movement: The former is used as a verb ("move the table over here") and as a noun ("many people have made the move south for the summer"); while the latter is a noun ("The movement of troops").

Wait, waiting: One might say, "After a brief wait, the train moved on"; or, more elaborately, "After a brief period of waiting (or waiting period) the train started." "Wait for me." "He was waiting for me." In "period of waiting", "of waiting" is an adjective phrase describing "period."

Concept, conception: Both mean a thought, opinion, or idea, but the latter is also used to mean the state of being conceived, the beginning, or the power, function or process of forming ideas.

Airport, airdrome, airfield: These terms are often used interchangeably. Strictly, however, the first term means a place where aircraft land and take off (either on land or water); the second means the same; while the third refers to the field attached to an airport.

Toilets, lavatories, latrines, water closets: A "water closet" is a room with a hopper for defecation, fitted with a device for flushing with water (or the hopper itself); a "latrine" is a privy, or water closet, especially in military camps; a "toilet" is either a water closet or bathroom (American usage) or the act of dressing, grooming one's person (British usage); a "lavatory" is a basin, with other conveniences, for washing; or a room fitted out for washing.

All-out, over-all: The former means complete, entire, as "all-out effort"; the latter means including everything, as "the over-all plan." The distinction is not very clear, except that "all-out" is usually connected with the idea of energy, striving, movement, while "over-all" is used with something static, as a plan, view, etc.

Dread, dreadful: Both have the same sense, the former being used either as a noun, adjective or verb, the latter as an adjective only. "To dread" is to fear greatly, to have terror or apprehension of ("I dread going to the dentist.") As a noun: "He had a great dread of the dentist." As an adjective, a line from Blake, "What dread hand, and what dread feet?" Here it means inspiring great fear or awe. "Dread" as an adjective has rather a literary flavor; the more usual word is "dreadful", generally (and loosely) in the sense of awful, detestable, nasty, repugnant. War is dreadful, or a great cataclysm of nature, or intense agony; but in common speech, the word is debased by such uses as, "He's a dreadful person", "What a dreadful day", etc.

Grand, grandiose: Usually taken as synonymous, meaning high in rank, large, great, comprehensive, main, magnificent, imposing, illustrious. "Grandiose" used in the good sense, adds to "grand" the implication of stateliness or becoming pomp; in the bad sense, it implies affectation or the mere outward appearance of grandeur. Of an overly ambitious and imposing plan, which falls flat, one might say, "the grandiose plan."

Theft, thievery: Synonymous: the act of stealing.

Approach: As in "New Approach in Asia", the meaning is the taking of preliminary steps to knowledge or acquaintance with.

Hysterically: As in "while hysterically attempting to avoid", means a wildly emotional, unreasoning attempt.

Offing: Originally meant that part of the sea where a pilot is not needed; also, distance from the shore. Used as in "a change of government is in the offing," the meaning is in the somewhat remote distance or future.

Foot in the mouth: Awkward, awkwardness, embarrassing position.

Honey carts: A euphemism for the vehicles used to transport fecal and other waste matter which is used as fertilizer.

Integral, integrate: As in "an integral part," the meaning is, essential to completeness. In "to be integrated into", the meaning is, to form into a whole, to unite.

Perspective: Originally, the art of representing, on a plane or curved surface, natural objects as they appear to the eye. As used in "from the perspective of six months", it means, the aspect of objects or events as they are mentally viewed from a distance in space or time.

Override, overridden: In the clause, "Hoffman has been overridden", the meaning is that Hoffman has been overruled, passed over, his views disregarded.

Impact: In "the impact of the West upon old peasant societies," the word means the forcible contact, striking together of Western ways and feudal ways.

Hold-out: ("The hold-out Government in Nanking") the meaning is that the Nanking Government is sticking it out, against odds, without much hope of ultimate success.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

World Culture

COMMENTING on the prevailing popular indignation against the correspondents of two American news agencies in Peiping, the *World Culture* of February 19 points out that the most important thing for foreign correspondents to understand is that Communist China is radically different from the imperialist-dominated China of the past.

The magazine writes, among other things: "As reported in various newspapers, the correspondents Michael Keon of *UP* and Spencer Moosa of *AP* so enraged the people of Peiping by a series of 'false reports designed with malignant intent to humiliate the Chinese people' that the Peiping public was roused to demand their immediate expulsion. . .

"Then Moosa filed a report from Peiping on the 12th, the very first sentence of which begins with, 'The anti-American movement is gaining momentum in Peiping . . .' This was followed by a series of excerpts of the opinion of the people of Peiping, all well selected to suit his own ends. Moosa further declared that the sole ground for the movement against him is allegedly a statement, 'The people of Peiping gave the Communist Forces the same welcome as they gave to the Japanese Forces, the American Forces and the Nationalist Forces in the past' attributed to one of his dispatches, but said that he had never made such a statement.

"On first reading over this dispatch, it does appear as if Moosa wrote it without the least bit of bitterness and in all fairness of mind. Actually, however, we should be on our guard against being taken in by the deceptive appearance. In the first place, Moosa artfully makes use of the term 'anti-American' but not the term 'anti-American imperialism.' This is highly misrepresenting when compared with the original statement of the people of Peiping denouncing the American correspondents. The people of Peiping only denounced them for being tools of American imperialism, while nothing has been said against the American people. Do Moosa and Keon consider themselves to be the representatives of the American people? Secondly, Moosa lightly evaded the issue by saying that he has never made such a statement. If this really is the case, are we to take it that over one million of the people in Peiping have lied in a conspiracy to smear the good name of these worthy gentlemen? How do we account for their public indignation? It is alleged that the North Shensi Radio once declared in a broadcast addressed to Moosa and Keon, 'You may be able to send back false reports to America directly and in great secrecy but you are not able to prevent us from receiving them too.' This bit of wry humor probably explains the above discrepancies.

In conclusion, the magazine offers a piece of advice to foreign correspondents in China, saying:

"In a word, unless a correspondent willingly wants to be a fool, then it is certainly necessary for a bona-fide correspondent to orient himself to a new and changed environment; for instance, to realize that the present Peiping does not belong to the same category as Taiwan. It is imperative to have a true understanding of the Chinese people, to have the proper respect for their rights and aspirations and to realize that the quintessence of freedom of the press does not lie in the freedom to lie, to defile or to bandy words."

* * *

Newsland

THE *Newsland Weekly* of February 24 discovers a significant change in American policy toward China and charges that Washington now favors the division of China into two parts, with a Communist government in the North and a Kuomintang government in the South. According to the journal, the United States at first suggested that the Government resume peace talks with the Communists and that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek get out to pave the way for peace, but now the United States seems to have changed her mind and would like to see war go on in this country.

"Strangely enough," it writes, "now that President Li Tsung-jen's peace movement has gained ground, the American attitude has become more and more dubious. Is the US Government waking up to the fact that after all it will not be possible for a coalition government under Chinese Communist leadership to cooperate with the Americans? Heretofore, the American Government has been led, or rather misled, by erroneous intelligence reports and by the influence of leftist elements within the State Department into thinking that the new masters of China may still allow the Americans to hang on as usual. The measures the Chinese Communists have taken in the Peiping and Tientsin regions, however, have forced the American Government to reconsider its stand. . .

"It appears odd that the American Government should stand for peace when the Chinese Government wanted to fight, but then as soon as the Chinese Government decides on peace, the American Government should change its mind. On second thought, the reason may be perfectly simple. A coalition government established in China under the present circumstances would definitely not be the sort which would suit American interests. At the present juncture, there is only one thing which America is going to stick to with regard to her policy towards China; namely, to try, by all means, whether by peace or by war, to keep China divided into a southern and a northern portion. It is also obvious that this end can more easily be attained through war than through peace. Thus the closer Li Tsung-jen gets to establishing peace, the colder becomes America's attitude towards him. . .

"Washington would very much like to get hold of one or more parties beside Li Tsung-jen as objects of their assistance, and Taiwan has been chosen as the ideal base for carrying out the assistance program. The return of General Barr to China and the dispatch of planes of the American 14th Air Force to Taipeh are all moves taken with a view to strengthening the position of Taiwan."

The magazine concludes that the Communists need peace more than anything else. The reasons are, it says:

"Firstly, the establishment of a coalition government is but an interim measure, but with the organizing powers and the administrative ability of the Communists far above those of the KMT, there is absolutely nothing for them to be afraid of. Secondly, the successful organization of a coalition government would mean that the new government shall automatically take over the legal authority of the Chinese Government. The question of international recognition then would not come up and Chou En-lai would automatically become one of the Chairmen of the UN Security Council. Thirdly, in case active American assistance is really given, it may be very costly for the Communists to attempt crossing the Yangtze. Fourthly, the desire for peace is in itself a power to be reckoned with, while the wishes of the people cannot feasibly be ignored.

"With the above in view, it is absolutely inconceivable that the Communists should forsake this opportunity for peace, which is favorable to them, and instead prepare to sacrifice 400,000 to 500,000 men to go through all the dangers involved in crossing the Yangtze. The Communists are therefore likely to comply with any KMT request for equal representation in a coalition government or insistence upon an equitable reorganization of the armed forces. . . So now it is the turn of the most powerful members of the KMT to procrastinate, to wait for a decisive change in Washington's China policy. These men plan to concentrate all available forces at their disposal to bargain on an equal footing with the Communists with a view to making the Yangtze the great divide in splitting the country up into two independent administrative parts. They are willing to stop fighting, but they are against the establishment of a coalition government."

US Magazine Roundup

Far Eastern Survey

IN the February 23, 1949 issue of *Far Eastern Survey*, Dr. Dorothy Borg analyzes trends in Chinese opinion based on a study of more than 5,000 newspapers and periodicals, liberal and conservative, since the close of World War II.

Dr. Borg says: "Chinese good will toward the United States has long been recognized as an asset of American foreign policy. This country has traditionally upheld the integrity of China, and after the first World War it led a movement to remove from China the burden and humiliation of international controls. While Chinese often regarded the views of the State Department as limited and its approach as unfortunate, they had for the most part faith in its good intentions. . . .

"Since the second World War there has been a profound change in attitudes in Nationalist China toward the United States. Whether they are for or against the Nationalist Government, most Chinese concerned with political issues have become bitterly opposed to American policy. . . .

"In retrospect it is evident that after the war liberals were the first to look to the United States for assistance and the first to turn away with a feeling of almost violent disillusionment. This change took place during the Marshall mission, when most liberals became convinced that the United States was to blame for the outbreak of civil war."

Each of the major developments of US policy—the Wedemeyer mission, the China aid appropriation, the trend toward rebuilding Japan's economy—have been severely criticized in the Chinese press, says Dr. Borg. On the one hand, the liberals have held the United States responsible for prolonging the civil war; on the other, the conservatives have charged the US with offering insufficient aid and delusive promises.

In discussing the intensifying criticism toward US policy in the Chinese press, Dr. Borg writes: "While most of the press, whether liberal or conservative, concentrated on American policy in China, the *Ta Kung Pao*, the most influential of the independent newspapers, was concerned with American foreign policy as a whole. In a 'Letter to the People of the United States,' written in October 1947, it spoke frankly of the diminishing friendship of the Chinese and American people, placing most of the blame on the United States. The letter said in substance: The Chinese people look to America for world leadership; they conceive of leadership in terms of strengthening the Anglo-American type of democracy; but the United States seeks to dominate the world by means of money and power. In many subsequent editorials the *Ta Kung Pao* accused the United States of denying its democratic heritage in both domestic and foreign policies."

Chinese opinion on the problem of rebuilding Japan was explosive, according to Dr. Borg's study. "American economic plans for Japan," she writes, "were denounced with few qualifications. The United States was accused of recreating Japan's industrial and war potential; of developing the Japanese market in order to monopolize it; and of reviving the principle of 'an industrial Japan and an agricultural China' which was anathema to the Chinese people."

The effect of statements by the US Consul General and the American Ambassador rebuking those opposed to US policy towards Japan was to direct more wrath toward US policy. "Even the customarily reserved *Shih Chi Ping Lun (The Century Critic)*, Dr. Borg noted, "published an article denouncing Dr. Stuart's statement as one of a long series of incidents that had transformed the affection of the Chinese for the United States into hostile resentment. One nation may be weak and another strong, it said; but to assume the attitude of a superior to a subordinate can only create hatred."

In conclusion, Dr. Borg observes: "During the last few years the United States has been following a policy of limited aid to the Nationalist Government of China. This policy cannot of course be judged solely by its effect on Chinese opinion. Good will is, however, an important factor in international relations, and in terms of securing Chinese good will American policy has been a conspicuous failure."

* * *

The Nation

AN interesting article concerning the arrest of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary is carried in the January 8 issue of *The Nation*. Written by Ruth Karpf, a foreign correspondent who recently returned to America from an eight months' stay in Europe and the Near East, the article says that the Cardinal's arrest is the third round of the political battle between the Catholic church and the state in post-war Hungary. It continues:

"In round one, which took place in 1945 immediately after the war, the long-overdue Hungarian land reform was fought tooth and nail by the Catholic church under the leadership of Cardinal Mindszenty. . . . The Catholic church was the largest landowner in Hungary. In round two, which was fought in the summer of 1948, the issue was the control of Hungary's public schools. . . . The Catholic church had controlled and run 63 percent of the country's schools. Round two was crucial, and both the Cardinal and the government threw into it all their resources. Round three was then inevitable. The arrest of Mindszenty is but one expression of the state's determination to clamp down on politically active Catholic priests. . . .

"In July the Cardinal ordered all Catholic religious schools closed; in August he forbade ordained teachers to continue their work in public schools; in September he officially threatened with excommunication any Catholic who either in the press or in public criticized him personally or any aspect of his policies. . . .

"He hardly bothered to hide the fact that he had entered the battle over the schools and intended to keep on fighting it primarily for political reasons. . . . He told us that in an exchange of letters between him and the government he had laid down the terms on which he was prepared to 'negotiate.' They had nothing to do with freedom of worship. A daily paper for the church was one of them. Immediate compensation for church holdings that had been given to agricultural workers was another. Of course the government refused to consider any of these conditions, and undoubtedly the Cardinal knew it would refuse, for he is an old hand at politics. It was he who negotiated with Horthy the Concordat which gave the Catholic church in Hungary powers and privileges of exactly the same kind as those the church enjoys today in Franco Spain."

Miss Karpf says Cardinal Mindszenty "has never recognized the Hungarian Republic. He told us. . . . that he considers the republic unconstitutional and that for him Hungary is still as it has been for the past thousand years, a monarchy. The land reform, he told us, was 'anti-Christian'. . . . After the war he refused to change textbooks used in Catholic schools which describe the French Revolution as 'that mob movement of the late 18th century in France which was designed primarily to rob the church of its lands.'"

Miss Karpf reports that there are other Catholic clergymen who feel that religious freedom can be preserved in Hungary if the church "stays out of politics" and "if only Cardinal Mindszenty and others would stop making Christianity synonymous, in the mind of the people of Hungary, with reaction and the return to a feudal past they abhor." She concludes: "The elimination from the political scene of Mindszenty and the Horthy-tainted Catholic hierarchy which he represents would no doubt weaken the political power of the church, and with it all organized opposition to the present government. But it would give Christianity in Hungary a chance to survive."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE resumption of the Legislative Yuan's session in Nanking, the interflow of commodities between Nationalist China and Communist China, and the need for building up a favorable psychological basis for peace were main topics commented on in the Chinese press last week.

* * *

Legislative Yuan

THE *Ta Kung Pao* suggested that the Legislative Yuan at its current session help the Government achieve peace. "In the promotion of peace and in the removal of obstacles to peace, there is much the Legislative Yuan can do," the paper said. "When Acting President Li Tsung-jen assumed office, he issued an order announcing the repeal of all laws and regulations in violation of the freedom of the people. He also ordered seven sweeping reforms. But in some districts in the country some of the measures ordered by the acting president have not yet been carried out, while in other districts, the local authorities simply did the contrary. Now it is up to the Legislative Yuan rectify the situation."

Another job for the Legislative Yuan, according to the paper, is to review what the Government has done during the past two months.

"What the Cabinet has done so far to the knowledge of the public, apart from the announcement, while it was still in Nanking, of its readiness to talk peace and the designation of a peace delegation, are limited to two major measures," the paper said. "The first is the large-scale evacuation with the removal of the Executive Yuan to Canton. The second is the promulgation of the new Financial Reform Program.

"Whether or not the Executive Yuan should be evacuated we do not propose to criticize. But the chaos, lack of coordination, waste of public property reported during the removal, and even such strange incidents as the reported misappropriation of public funds by heads of ministries and commissions are matters for which somebody must be held responsible. And there have been reports of notorious cases of corruption among members of the Cabinet.

"The Financial Reform Program is capable of producing very serious effects on both the financial position of the Government and the livelihood of the people. It has been promulgated only after passage by the Executive Yuan. There is call for the program to be reviewed, to see whether it will prove beneficial to the current situation or not.

"Among the administrative measures of the Executive Yuan in the past two months, apart from another great change in the financial measures of the Government, the public has seen nothing but the removal of government offices, the movements of high officials, the sufferings of public functionariess, and the enlargement of factional disputes. The people are at a loss to know what is going on. There is need for the Legislative Yuan to make a thorough investigation of this confused situation."

In conclusion, the paper advised the Cabinet to return to Nanking, because the Government cannot have two administrative centers at the same time.

"Finally, we have one more question to ask," it said. "Acting President Li is in Nanking. The Control Yuan is in Nanking. The Legislative Yuan has also resumed its session in Nanking. But the Executive Yuan and its subordinate ministries and commissions are in Canton. Where exactly is our Government? Recently local authorities who approached the Central Government on official business found nobody in Nanking with whom they could deal, while in Canton too, they had not been able to contact the relevant quarters. Some local organs directly subordinated to the Central Government have found that they had lost connections with the Government and that their supplies have been cut off. What kind of a situation is this? One Government cannot have two centers. Let the various component parts of the body be reassembled immediately."

* * *

Flow Of Commodities

THE *Shang Pao*, generally regarded as connected with the local chamber of commerce, welcomed the resumption of shipping and trade between Communist China and Nationalist China, pointing out that it is economically beneficial to both sides. Shanghai needs raw materials and coal from North China while Peiping and Tientsin need flour from Shanghai.

Apart from the economic aspect, the paper felt the flow of commodities between the North and the South has its political significance, saying:

"We consider that this development has brought the prospects of peace nearer and more hopeful. For today, politically, Shanghai and North China are still separated from each other. But from the standpoint of the people, there is no wall between the two areas. Industrial and commercial interests between the two areas are closely interwoven. From the successful realization of the interflow of supplies between the South and the North, we feel that the dawn of peace is near.

"Acting President Li Tsung-jen has earned the great confidence of the people with his conscientious and untiring efforts to promote peace. The Communists have also lent a willing ear to good advice, and have halted the advance of their Army, so that they too have shown their sincere desire for peace. Although the peace talks to be opened must necessarily encounter many difficulties in the course of their progress, yet as long as both parties are sincere, all issues can be settled.

"We hold the view that the first successful effort in knocking open the door to peace lies in the resumption of shipping between the North and the South, and the achievement of the interflow of supplies. We hope that the existing practice of bartering coal for flour will be extended to the interflow of all commodities. The two opposing parties must first sink their differences and cultivate a spirit of mutual reliance. The peace envoys may then exert their efforts to bring them closer and closer until peace will come and be followed by reconstruction."

* * *

Psychological Basis

THE *Shun Pao* argued that impartiality, toleration, and endurance should be the psychological basis for peace.

"What are the psychological foundations of peace?" it asked. "In the first place, impartiality must be upheld. If both parties assume the attitude as expressed by Acting President Li, that 'not the personal honor of a few leaders but the welfare of the 400 millions of our people is to be taken care of' then party differences can easily be eliminated. In such circumstances, all the peace conditions brought forth by either party can be weighed and appraised to see whether or not they are made in the interests of the people.

"In the second place, there is call for toleration. Both parties should realize that there is need to be more magnanimous and to accept the reasonable views of the opposing party, and particularly the views of the people. Acting President Li in his statement made public in Hankow expressed the hope that the Kuomintang would turn a little to the left and the Communists a little to the right. This may explain the spirit of toleration now required.

"In the third place, there is need for endurance. For years before and up to his recent retirement, President Chiang had been subjected to various kinds of insults and ridicule, and today while he has been spared from official duties, he still refrains from uttering a word in defense of the numerous charges made against him. He has learned the secret of endurance. Acting President Li has also been constantly condemned as a puppet of American intrigue, but he has from the beginning, devoted his efforts to the cause of peace. He, too, has learned the secret of endurance. Once a leader cultivates this spirit of endurance, he will have the wisdom to devote his whole efforts for the State and the people and for the achievement of peace."

What US Papers Say

THE American aid program and the trial of 15 Protestant clergymen in Bulgaria drew comment from the US press. There was a rumor that a "new approach" may have to be used with regard to aid to Greece, and Wallace was soundly criticized for his allegation that the recovery program had been a failure.

* * *

Greece And China

THE *Kansas City Star* drew a parallel between the Greece and China situations, saying that the United States has failed in its efforts in both countries toward development of stable democratic institutions, and to overcome the economic ravages of the war.

"Millions of our dollars have been poured into strengthening the Greek army and air force, with the object of crushing a few thousand Communist guerrillas, the paper said. "Yet today there are known to be more guerrillas than ever operating in Northern Greece. Supervisors of our program on the scene say bluntly that there has been constant political interference with planning and conduct of this military campaign. They are equally frank about the quality of the Greek Government we have been supporting. They describe it as 'appallingly inefficient' and hint broadly at corruption in several areas of administration.'

"Other observers have repeatedly called that Government reactionary and oppressive. The only bright spot in the picture appears to be the amount of physical reconstruction which has been accomplished with our help and under our immediate direction. Bridges have been rebuilt, roads resurfaced, railway services restored and main harbors reconditioned. Industrial production is now up to 80 percent of its prewar level and would make a still better showing were it not for the fact that many of the Greek mines are in districts subject to guerrilla attack. But this is not enough.

"We came to the assistance of the Greek people to help them protect themselves against what amounted to armed Communist intervention in their affairs and to allow them to develop stable democratic institutions, as well as to overcome the economic ravages of the war. Our efforts obviously have failed on the first two counts. Parallels with the Chinese situation are only too evident.

"Military mismanagement, gross incompetence and greed in top administrative posts, refusal on the part of the governing clique to tolerate any opposition, however patriotic and enlightened, and calm assumption that the United States cannot afford to withdraw its aid, no matter how outrageously that aid is abused—these are all familiar elements which conspired at last to bring disaster upon the Nationalist Government of China.

"Are we to be as helpless in Greece as we proved to be in China? According to a report, a 'drastic revision' of the Greek program is under discussion in Washington, along with talk of an entirely 'new approach' to the whole problem. There is certainly no time to be lost. For until now we seem to have played our cards very badly."

* * *

Wallace Wrong

A *Washington Star* editorial scolded Mr. Henry Wallace for saying the recovery program had failed and the only way to peace with Russia was to negotiate in a "spirit of willingness to make compromises and accommodations on both sides." The *Star* said that negotiation, or appeasement, had been tried, and the people of this country are through with appeasement.

"Judging from the recent election in which he polled only an insignicant percentage of the vote," the editorial said, "Henry Wallace does not speak for any important segment of the American people. It seems desirable, nevertheless, to keep the record straight with respect to his more flagrant misstatements of fact.

"Judging from the things he says, Mr. Wallace continues to trust the Russians and believe in their good intentions. He is not shaken in this faith when a top leader of the French Communists calls upon them to welcome and support the Red Army if it should occupy France. He does not dissent, and probably agrees, when Soviet Marshal Bulganin accuses the United States of wanting war with Russia.

"It is Mr. Wallace's privilege to think this way if he wants to. It is also his privilege to oppose such projects of this country as the European Recovery Program and the North Atlantic security pact.

"But Mr. Wallace oversteps the bounds when he says that the recovery program has failed, that the security pact project will fail, and that the only way to peace is for the United States to sit down with Russia and negotiate in a spirit of willingness to make compromises and accommodations on both sides.

"It is not true that the recovery program has been a failure. It may yet fail, of course, but the present evidence, including the efforts of the Russians to sabotage it, is that it is achieving good success. The security pact has not even been written, so it is at least premature to write it off as a failure.

"But there is one thing that has been a failure, a clear and demonstrable failure. That is appeasement of Russia, or, as Mr. Wallace puts it, the making of compromises and accommodations in the hope of getting along with Russia. That has been tried. We have made many, too many, compromises and accommodations in the hope that this would be the way to peace. But we have learned that this has produced only bad faith on the part of the Russians and a constant grabbing for more.

"Mr. Wallace can talk as much as he pleases, but the people of this country are through with appeasement. They have seen that it is a failure, and they said so in unmistakable fashion last November.

* * *

Sofia Trial

THE *New York Times*, commenting on the Sofia trial of 15 Protestant clergymen, said that the accusations against religious leaders in Soviet-dominated countries is a concerted move to wipe out all sources of opposition to Communist policies.

"The trial of the Protestant clergymen, which was preceded by like action in Hungary, shows that the Communist attack is not directed against any particular church but against all churches," it said. "This is in line with the revival of the anti-religious campaign in Russia itself under the slogan that 'Communism and religion are incompatible.'

"The first aim of this campaign is obvious. It is to bring the churches under control of the totalitarian Communist state and make them instruments of that state for the control of the masses. But the larger aim, pursued with the same relentless brutality that has accompanied the suppression of all political opposition, is to eliminate the churches as the last citadels of freedom and independence. The fact that the most spectacular of these trials are not only directed against the British and American governments but are also staged in the former Axis satellite states which are bound by the peace treaties to safeguard both human and religious freedom is a measure of the Communist challenge."

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* said the trial brought out a new definition for "treason, Moscow style—that anyone who fights Communism anywhere is guilty of that crime." The paper pointed significantly to the statements of Thorez of France and Togliatti of Italy that it would become the duty of the French and Italian working classes to give the Soviet army every aid in the event of an aggressive war against the Soviet Union within the borders of France and Italy.

"Thus on the one hand," the paper said, "the Reds are calling upon all Communists to turn traitor to their own countries; on the other they are persecuting as traitors—to Communism—those who dare oppose them."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Hawaiian History

HAWAII: A HISTORY FROM POLYNESIAN KINGDOM TO COMMONWEALTH. *By Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day. 331 pages, photo., tables, bibliography, index. N.Y. Prentice-Hall, 1948. U.S.$3.00. Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

It is hard to believe that one lifetime can join us of today with the earliest recorded history of Hawaii. Yet such is the fact. Some ten years ago the reviewer talked in Shanghai with an old-time Hawaiian resident. This man spent some of his boyhood in the company of an old Hawaiian who had seen Captain Vancouver land on the islands. That event was in 1792.

These islands are part of the Polynesian triangle whose points are Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand. In 170 years their people have passed from the Stone Age into the Atomic Age. Hawaii, once an isolated area of 6,500 square miles, now the "Crossroads of the Pacific," offers the story of a merging of cultures and influences which has no counterpart in history.

The first inhabitants of these volcanic islands were Polynesians whose great ocean voyages carried them to Hawaii by 400 or 500 A.D. Their culture forms one of the most charming influences in the Hawaiian way of life. Captain Cook in 1778 was the first western explorer to touch upon the islands which were named by him the Sandwich Islands in honor of his patron Lord Sandwich, whose name is more permanently enshrined in culinary nomenclature.

The islands entered European history just in time to participate in the growing Chinese trade, to become a haven for whalers and to present a lure for imperialistic ambitions.

The unification of the islands under the Polynesian ruler, Kamehameha I, and the evolution of a constitutional Polynesian kingdom, is unique in Pacific island history. The influence of the Christian missionary is shown to have been of primary importance, but there is more emphasis in the book under review upon the trader, the development of the great agricultural enterprises after the decline of whaling, and the movement toward economic democracy. "Hawaii's business world," say the authors, "has passed, within living memory, from outright feudalism through a period of strong paternalism and is now achieving . . . . a status of economic democracy close to that found in continental United States."

Hawaiian history is a microcosm of Pacific influences and cross-currents. The happy outcome of its racial intermingling is an encouragement to all who believe that a peaceful and beneficial union of races and cultures can be accomplished. Nearly a hundred years ago, in 1853, the census showed about 73,000 people in the islands, of whom 71,000 were Hawaiian or part Hawaiian. In July 1948, the population was 540,500 persons, of whom Hawaiians or part Hawaiians numbered nearly 81,000 or only 15 percent. Yet this minority group provides one of the dominant cultural influences of the islands. The 1948 statistics, showing population by racial antecedents, also gives the following percentages of distribution: Caucasian, 33.4; Japanese, 32.6; Filipino, 9.9; Chinese, 5.6; Puerto Rican, 1.8; Korean, 1.4; all others, 0.3.

The chapters which deal with the Republic of Hawaii, 1894-1898, the transfer of sovereignty to the United States, and the status of Hawaii as an incorporated territory of the United States are a fair treatment of a controversial subject. The book closes with an account of Hawaii's efforts to gain statehood.

Seventh Air Force

ONE DAMNED ISLAND AFTER ANOTHER: THE SAGA OF THE SEVENTH. *By Clive Howard and Joe Whitley. Prepared by HQ, AAF, AFIPR Personnel Narratives Division. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946. 403 pages, illustrations. U.S.$3.75. Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

The sharp staccato of the first three chapters of this book gives the breathless sense of urgency, the growing unbelief and the forced acceptance which the reviewer himself felt in Honolulu on that historic seventh of December far better than any other account of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor and Honolulu.

One feels it in the personalized experiences of Technician Joe Lockhard and Private George Elliott in their radar truck, as they tried to tell Information Center at Fort Shafter that the pips on their oscilloscope meant something big and dangerous. One feels it too in the incongruity when Captain Anthony D'Alfonso, medical officer, saw the diving Japanese planes and stood armed only with the Flit guns intended for the Flying Fortresses expected in from San Francisco. One feels it also in the ingenuity of an unnamed enlisted man shooting at the planes with a machine gun mounted on a typewriter stand.

We have referred only to the beginning of this saga of the 7th Air Force. From the run of Hickam, Wheeler and Bellows airfields on Oahu in the Hawaiian Islands, rose the 7th Air Force which began to fly the "Atoll Circuit," as they prepared the stepping stones on the road to Tokyo. Today these islands are known throughout the world—Midway, Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Kwajalein, Eniwetok, Truk, Saipan, Palau, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa. But in the "official history" the story of the taking of the islands becomes the story of the men who flew the missions, who patched the planes, who drove the trucks, and the guys who are just "serial numbers."

Anyone who has flown the Pacific in a commercial plane will appreciate the magnificance of this account. Anyone who responds to courage and vigor, comedy and tragedy will find it in amazing degree. The photographs taken by the photographers of the 7th Air Force and others are superb and generous in amount—more than 50 full pages of them.

Open Society

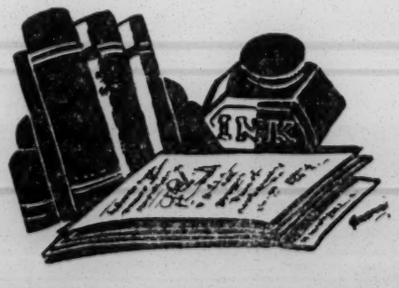
THE OPEN SELF, *by Charles Morris. N.Y. Prentice-Hall, 1948. 179 pages. U.S.$3.00. Reviewed by F.M.R.*

Stripped to its essentials this book is an explanation of attitudes of mind to which all of us are subject and which lead to acceptance of totalitarianism, and it is a plea that man keep himself open for further personal development, so that all society may be enriched. Thoreau expressed this idea more simply in *Walden*, when he wrote, "I desire that there be as many different persons in the world as possible; but I would have each one very careful to find out and pursue his own way."

Dr. Morris presents his point through a psychological study of personality development. He considers that personality is largely determined by the human body, physical environment, social institutions and cultural patterns, and speech signs or semantics. He explains the relationship between personality and physique by drawing on the somatic bases of personality developed by the psychologist William Sheldon. The new science of semantics is brought in to explain that the words we use are "life symbols" and should be used with intelligence. Hence the author dispensed with the word "democracy." But this word, nevertheless, in its best interpretation sums up the meaning of "open society."

His psychological explanation of the closed or totalitarian society interprets familiar historical events of our time. In the closed society persons are instruments. The open society is a person-centered society.

One is inclined to ask from where the inspiration should come which will draw all men on to the path which the author points out. A psychological explanation is not a sufficient dynamic.



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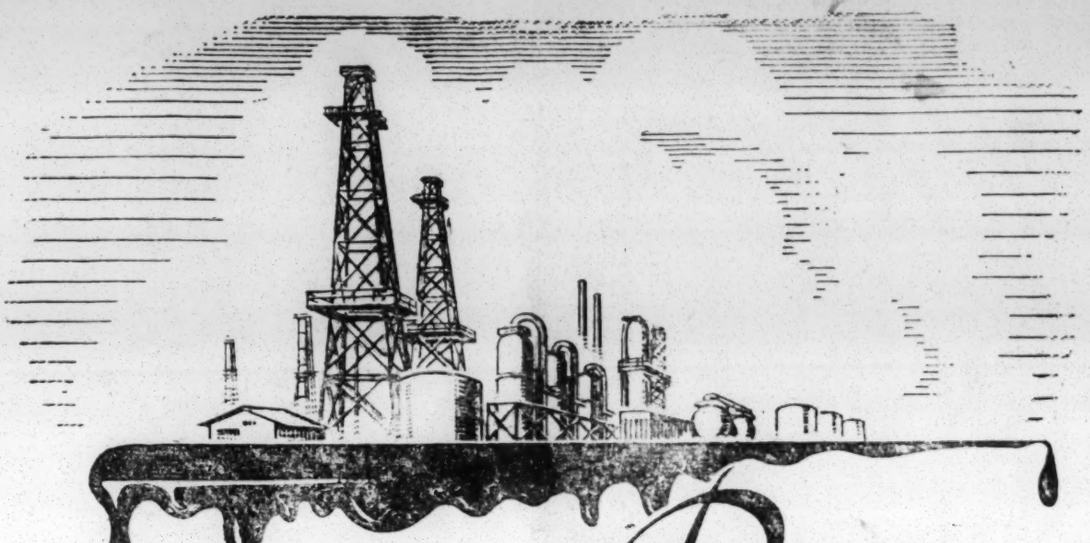

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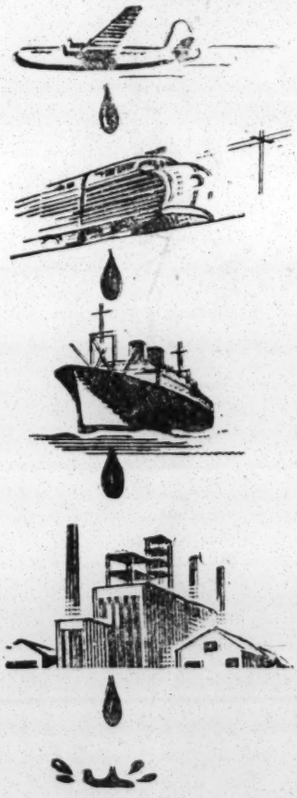

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